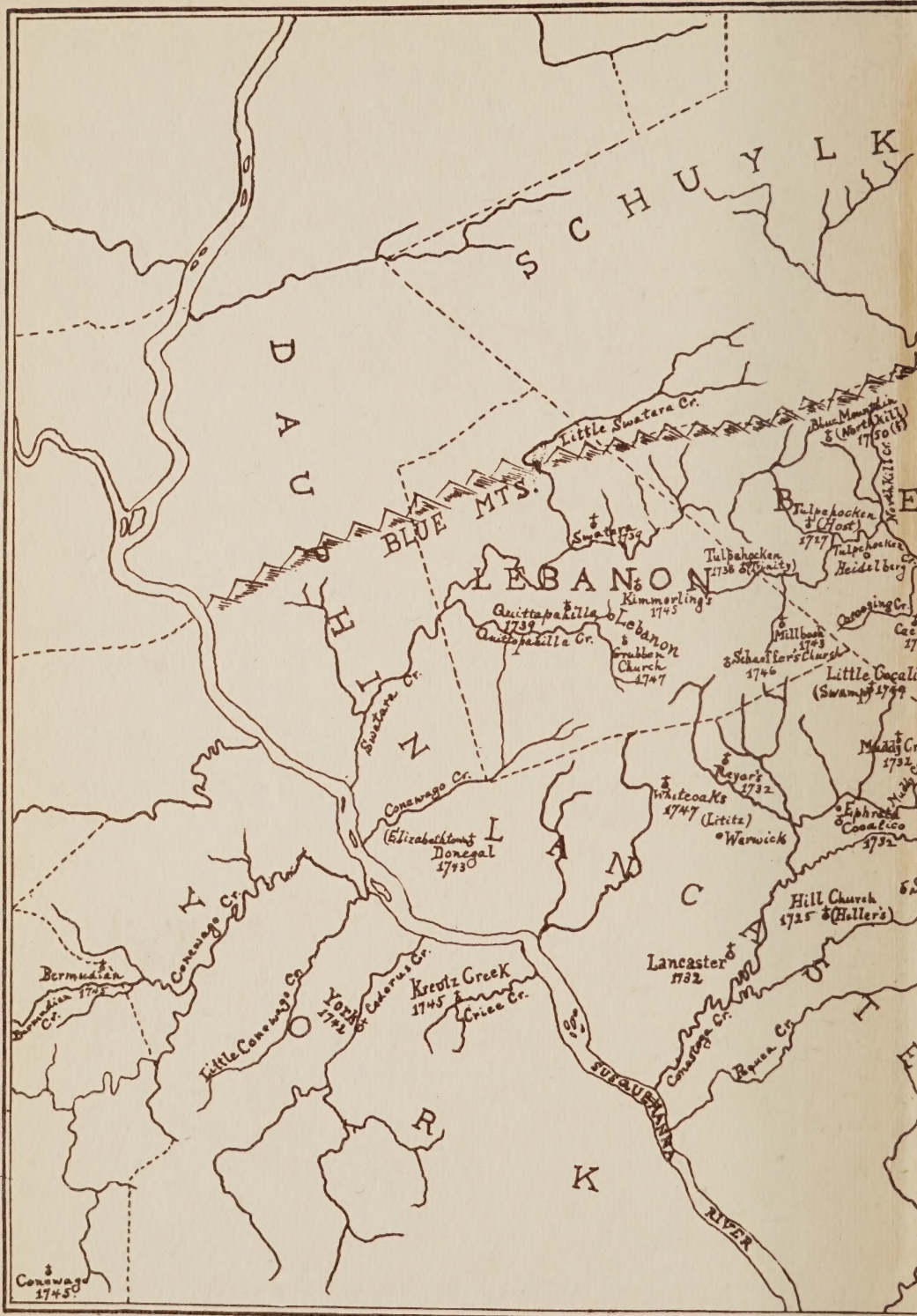


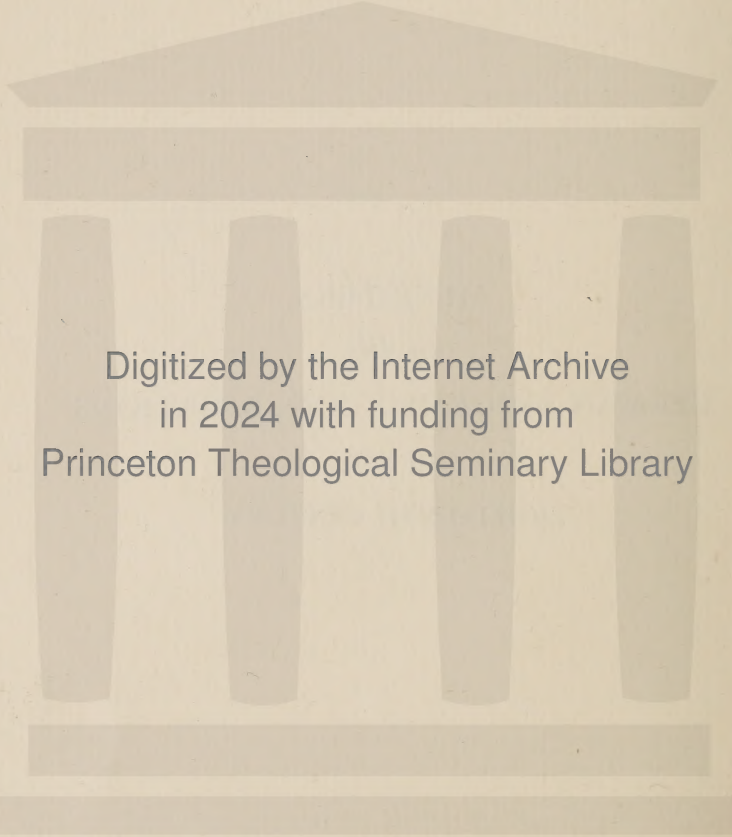
MINISTERS
OF THE
GERMAN REFORMED CONGREGATIONS
IN
PENNSYLVANIA AND OTHER COLONIES
IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY THE
REV. WILLIAM J. HINKE, PH.D., D.D.



MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA, SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE GER

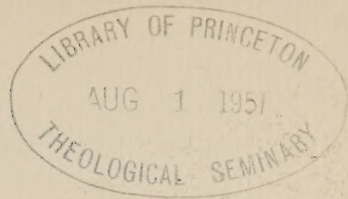
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EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY THE
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GEORGE W. RICHARDS

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PREFACE

The title of this book indicates the geographical, chronological, racial, religious, and social scope of its contents—Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania and other Colonies in the Eighteenth Century. The pioneers of this Church came at a comparatively late period into Penn's Colony. The first three congregations were organized in the Perkiomen Valley, Montgomery County, by John Philip Boehm, in 1725. They were members of the Reformed Church in Europe, in distinction from the Lutheran Church and dissenting sects in Germany and Switzerland; a small but influential minority came from Holland.

The congregations increased with the constantly enlarging number of annual migrants of the same faith and order. They grew in number, not only in Pennsylvania, but in New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Ohio. The ministers came from Germany and Switzerland, most of them trained in universities, and were commissioned by the Synods of North and South Holland, which, from 1728 to 1792, had supervision of the affairs of the Pennsylvania Churches, granting them subsidies and sending them ministers and school-masters.

The lineal descendents of the colonial pioneers were members of the Reformed Church in the United States, which united with the Evangelical Synod of North America, whose founders also came from Germany in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The two bodies formally united in a joint meeting of the supreme judicatories in Cleveland, June, 1934, under the name of "The Evangelical and Reformed Church."

The General Synod appointed an Historical Commission of five members, one of whom was the author of this volume, Prof. William J. Hinke. The Commission proposed to the General Synod the first major publication, to be prepared by Prof. Hinke. The proposal was approved, and the author spent the last five years of his life in the preparation of this biographical history. He was prepared for this assignment by nature and an almost life-long investigation of sources in Europe and America. He devoted a large part of his time and energy for fifty years to collecting the content of the biographies. He was, to use a German term, a master

Quellenforscher by nature and training. His work will not have to be re-written or revised. He exhausted the available material and presented it with accuracy and clarity of style to the reader.

The volume contains the biographies of sixty-six ministers who were members of the Coetus (somewhat akin to a Synod); fifty ministers who served German Reformed congregations but were independent of the Coetus; fourteen brief Memorials, containing data relative to ministers, but not enough for a biography. The volume contains four hundred and thirty-two pages.

It fills a gap in the history of American Christianity, which unfortunately could not be covered by historians without the contents of this volume. It will be read with interest by the ministers and by many members of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. It will receive recognition in the histories of the United States treating "beginnings" in the Colonial Era. It will not be a best seller, but it will be consulted by historians, genealogists, and especially by descendants of the ministers, now living in nearly every State of the Union, to discover the "others who labored before them" and who are now "entered into their labor."

To facilitate reference to the mass of material, three indexes have been prepared with great care. The names of the ministers mentioned; the places to which reference is made—villages, towns, cities; the location and names of congregations—a total of three hundred and sixty; also a citation of works referred to throughout the volume. For the indexes and for the proof-reading, the Editor is indebted to C. Nevin Heller, at one time Professor of Greek in Franklin and Marshall College, later Librarian in the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, at Lancaster. The section on the Life and Work of Michael Schlatter, for which the material was gathered by Prof. Hinke, but which he could not complete, was cast into excellent literary form by Miss Elizabeth Kieffer, Reference Librarian in the Fackenthal Library of Franklin and Marshall College, and a historian of recognized ability.

December 29, 1950.

GEORGE W. RICHARDS.

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MEMBERS OF THE COETUS OF PENNSYLVANIA

JOHN PHILIP BOEHM

1683-1749



JOHN PHILIP BOEHM, the founder of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, was born at Hochstadt, a little town near Hanau, in Hesse-Cassel, in the year 1683. On November 25, 1683, "Philippus Ludovicus Boehm, p.t. pastor of this place, and Maria, his wife, brought a son to baptism, named John Philip. Sponsor was Mr. John Hassenpflug, p.t. teacher of the third class [of the Latin School] at Hanau-on-the-Main, brother-in-law." His father, Philip Lewis Boehm, was born at Dorheim, Hesse, in 1646. He entered the University of Marburg in August, 1666. He was ordained in 1680 and in the same year began his pastorate at Hochstadt, where he served from 1680 to 1688. After four other, rather turbulent, pastorates, he retired in 1713, and died in 1726, after a checkered career.

About the youth and education of John Philip Boehm nothing is known. He first comes to light in 1708, when he became the schoolmaster of the Reformed congregation at Worms. Before he came to Worms he had married Anna Maria Stehler. There four children were born to the couple: (1) Johanna Sabina, b. May 2, 1709; (2) Francis Ludwig, b. July 24, 1711; (3) John Christopher, b. May 4, 1713; (4) Anthony William, b. April 27, 1714.

The work of Mr. Boehm as schoolmaster in Worms was made difficult and trying through the opposition of Christopher Schmidt, president of the consistory, who had favored another candidate. When he failed to prevent the election of Boehm, he set out to harrass him and to make life miserable for him. He started by taking away Boehm's perquisites for baptisms. To secure redress Boehm appealed to the City Council, which ordered that the custom of giving baptismal fees to the schoolmaster be left undisturbed. Failing in this effort to injure Boehm, other, trumped-up, charges were brought against him, and a hand-picked committee of the consistory was appointed to investigate them. The committee found him guilty and a congregational meeting voted to dismiss him. Boehm again appealed to the City Council, in numerous lengthy reports, in which he defended himself vigorously. When he failed to get any satisfaction from the Council, he handed in his resignation, to take effect on November 22, 1715.

From Worms Boehm went to Lambsheim, a neighboring town, where he filled the same position as schoolmaster of the parish. His salary at this place was 150*fl.*, on which he paid a tax of 42 Kreutzer.¹ At Lambsheim Boehm suffered persecution (with the Catholic schoolmaster) from the city authorities, who refused to give him his share in the communal lands of the town. Here also he appealed to higher, regional authorities, and after much delay and wrangling the Electoral government decided in his favor. The last reference to Boehm at Lambsheim was made on April 6, 1720. Apparently tired out by continual annoyances, he left the Palatinate to emigrate to Pennsylvania. He arrived in Philadelphia in the fall of 1720. In a report to the Classis of Amsterdam, made in 1728, his elders state: "Indeed as early as the year 1720 there came to us John Philip Boehm, who, according to his testimonials, had faithfully discharged the duties of his office as schoolmaster and precentor in Worms, a city of Germany."

On August 30th, 1720, the *American Mercury* reported the arrival of the ship "Laurel," from Liverpool and Cork, with 240-odd Palatine passengers. As this is the only ship with Palatines noted for that year, it is probable that Boehm and his family came on that ship.

Shortly after his arrival Boehm settled in Whitpain Township, then in Philadelphia but now in Montgomery County. In 1734 he paid quit-rent on 200 acres in Whitpain Township. He was probably attracted to Whitpain by numerous other Reformed people who had settled there. "Shortly after his arrival" his Reformed neighbors persuaded him to hold religious services for them, in which he acted as their Reader. Thus, "he maintained the ministry of the Word, to the best of his ability, and to the great satisfaction of the people, for five years, without any compensation."

In 1725, when the number of Reformed settlers in the Perkiomen Valley had risen to fifty men, they urged upon Boehm the necessity of assuming all the duties of a pastor among them, as there was apparently no prospect of securing a regularly ordained minister from Europe. Boehm at first strenuously objected, answering their arguments with the plea that his family needed his services. But, as his friends continued to urge their claims upon him, offering to support him with voluntary contributions to the best of their ability and pleading with tears in their eyes that he could not justify his refusal before God, he at last felt constrained to yield to their entreaties.

The first act of the new pastor was to draw up a constitution, which he read to his people and caused them to sign individually. The charge was then, in 1725, divided into three congregations. As soon as these were

¹ A kreutzer was approximately a fifth of a cent, a florin about 48 cents.

constituted, Boehm was elected as pastor by each one of them. A regular call was issued to him, which he accepted. Thus "he began the ministry of the Lord in His name." After preaching a few times in his congregations, the Lord's Supper was celebrated. At Falkner Swamp 40 members communed on October 15, 1725; at Skippack 37 members in November, 1725; and at Whitemarsh 24 members on December 23, 1725. These services were the beginning of regular Reformed worship in Pennsylvania.

About the same time another Reformed congregation had been gathered in the Conestoga Valley (then in Chester, now in Lancaster County), by another Reformed layman, John Conrad Tempelman. He too started his activity in the year 1725, "with small gatherings in houses here and there, with the reading of a sermon, with songs and prayer, according to the High German church order, upon all Sundays and holidays, but, on account of the lack of a minister, without the administration of baptism and of the Lord's Supper."

When this congregation heard what Boehm had done for the Reformed people in the Perkiomen Valley, they asked him to pay them a visit. This he did on October 14, 1727, when fifty-nine members communed at what Boehm called the "Hill Church," now Heller's Church, in Leacock Township.

A similar visit was made by Boehm at Tulpehocken, on October 18, 1727, when thirty-two members communed there. These were the first communion services ever held at these places.

A sixth congregation was gathered by Boehm in Philadelphia. He preached there a number of times in the year 1727. But hardly had he made this auspicious beginning when his work was rudely interrupted and his efforts thwarted by the arrival of an ordained minister, the Rev. George Michael Weiss, who arrived in Philadelphia on September 18, 1727, on the ship "William and Mary," with a colony of one hundred and nine Palatines, fifty-one of whom signed the oath of allegiance to the King of England on September 21, 1727. Weiss came fresh from Heidelberg, where he had attended one of the famous German universities and where he had been ordained by the Upper Consistory of the Palatinate on May 1, 1725. He not only looked down with contempt upon the efforts of an unauthorized and (as he believed) uneducated layman to preach, but thought it his bounden duty to stop him in his work. He invaded Boehm's congregations. On October 19, 1727, he preached at Skippack, and on October 26 at Philadelphia. He wrote to John George Schwab, one of his traveling companions, who had settled in the Conestoga Valley, offering to hold a communion service there. At the same time he warned them against Boehm, informing them that he could not recognize him as a Reformed minister, as he was without education and

ordination. He went even a step farther: he summoned Boehm to appear in the manse of the Presbyterian minister at Philadelphia, Rev. Jedidiah Andrews, in order to be examined as to his qualifications. Boehm ignored this impertinent summons.

To the surprise of Weiss and his followers, this unprovoked attack upon Boehm's activity had the opposite effect from the one expected. In July, 1728, the elders of Boehm's congregations appealed through the Dutch Reformed ministers of New York to the Classis of Amsterdam, in a lengthy report and petition, asking for permission to have Boehm ordained. After due deliberation the Classis decided that, "inasmuch as the Pennsylvania brethren so earnestly and unanimously desire Domine Boehm to continue as their pastor, this call, originating as it did out of the very heart of the congregation, must be considered as valid. Consequently all that he has done as their pastor must be considered legal; inasmuch as in the planting of a church in a region so distant, the usual formalities for securing ordination were not at hand." Hence the brethren in New York were asked "to put the last touch to the call of Domine Boehm, in order that he may be ordained to the sacred ministry."

The ordination of Boehm was conducted in New York city by Dominies Du Bois, Antonides, and Boel, on November 23, 1729. Weiss had been asked to come to New York to be present at this ceremony. A reconciliation was effected between the two men, in which Weiss promised to recognize Boehm as "a lawful, ordained and regular minister of the three congregations"—Falkner Swamp, Skippack, and Whitemarsh. Due to the violent opposition of his adherents, Weiss did not keep his promise, nor did he give up Skippack at once. A division took place in the congregation. There the followers of Weiss worshipped in a log church, which had been dedicated on June 22, 1729,² while Boehm and his adherents worshipped at first in private houses and later, after 1735, in a well-built house on a farm which they bought. After the departure of Weiss the division was kept up by other, independent, preachers.³

When Weiss started out, in May, 1730, on his ill-fated collecting tour to Holland, Boehm viewed it with grave suspicion, for he felt that no good would come to his congregations from this venture. Although he was not directly involved in the "Reiff case," yet it affected his work permanently, for it prevented any help from coming to him from Holland. In March, 1734, the so-called "Reiff case" came to a surprising denouement. At a meeting of the Philadelphia congregation Reiff confessed publicly that the money collected in Holland, about 2,100*fl.*, had been

² This is the first Reformed church building in Pennsylvania of which we have any record.

³ *Life of Boehm*, 60.

invested in merchandise, at the behest of the self-appointed officers in Philadelphia, and that the goods purchased had been held up by the authorities at Cowes, England, because no one was present to pay the customs-duty. The blame, he declared, lay entirely upon the shoulders of the Philadelphia elders, Dr. Diemer, Peter and Michael Hillegas, and some others: "If they had not written to me I would not have done it." The result of this revelation was that at a meeting of the congregation, on April 2, 1734, the members elected a new consistory, Rev. J. B. Rieger resigned as pastor, and on April 20th forty-two members signed a call to Boehm to become their pastor, which call Boehm accepted after the congregation agreed to submit to the church order established in his other congregations. This election of Boehm marked an important victory for law and order in the Reformed Church.

However, Weiss was not the only opponent who made the work of Boehm difficult and at times fruitless. Hardly had Weiss left the province when in August of 1730 John Peter Mueller (Miller) arrived in Philadelphia. He at once took the place of Weiss in Philadelphia, Germantown, and Skippack, and, as he was licensed only, applied to the Presbyterians for ordination. The Presbytery of Philadelphia took up his case and towards the end of the year he was duly ordained by three eminent Presbyterian ministers, Andrews, Tennent, and Boyd, in the old Buttonwood Presbyterian Church at Philadelphia.

Even before this event took place Miller had visited Boehm in Whip-pain Township, on October 19, 1730. The latter advised him to apply to the Dutch Reformed ministers of New York, as he had done. This Miller declined, declaring it a too round-about way. They also discussed the relation of the Classis of Amsterdam to the Pennsylvania churches. Miller maintained that the church in Pennsylvania should be independent of the authorities in Holland, while Boehm expressed satisfaction with their interest in and direction of the Reformed churches in this country. It is strange that Miller failed to realize the weakness of the German congregations in Pennsylvania, as they were plainly unable to support a settled ministry without help from the outside.

When, in September, 1731, John Bartholomew Rieger appeared in Philadelphia with a colony of his countrymen, Miller readily made way for him by giving up Philadelphia, Germantown, and Skippack, and confining his activity to the interior settlements in the Perkiomen Valley, especially Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp, from which as a centre he supplied other, more distant congregations, such as Conestoga and Tulpehocken. On November 22, 1731, the members at Philadelphia wrote to the Synods: "As Mr. Weiss has left us, in order not to allow our pulpit to remain vacant we have chosen the newly arrived candidate

Reiger as our minister."

Rieger remained in this field until the Reiff Case reached its unexpected climax in April, 1734. When the congregation deposed the elders who had brought about the scandal connected with the Holland collection, Rieger resigned his position and went to Amwell, New Jersey. This led to the recall of Boehm as pastor in Philadelphia and to his long and uninterrupted ministry there, until, in December, 1746, he made way for Schlatter.

Another opponent of Boehm appeared in 1735. This was the boy-preacher of the pre-Coetal period, John Henry Goetschy. He arrived in Philadelphia with his father, the Rev. Maurice Goetschy, the leader of a colony of Swiss settlers. Unfortunately the father died the day after his arrival. Hence his son Henry was obliged to take his place. "When the people learned [he writes] that I had been engaged in study, they almost compelled me to take the oversight of the congregations to the best of my ability." His charge comprised at first Philadelphia, Skippack, New and Old Goshenhoppen, and Great Swamp. In Philadelphia and Skippack he interfered with the ministry of Boehm. But he must soon have given up Philadelphia, as Boehm never refers to his interference there, but "the congregation at Skippack was kept in a state of continuous restlessness and ill-feeling, by his services."

As the title page of the New Goshenhoppen record shows, Goetschy soon extended his activity to Saucon, Egypt, Maxatawny, Mosellem, Oley, Bern, and Tulpehocken. At Oley, Egypt, and Tulpehocken he came in conflict with Boehm. On November 17, 1736, Boehm had organized Oley with the installation of four elders and two deacons, and later the Lord's Supper had been administered to forty communicants. Shortly afterwards Goetschy preached there, pretending to have been ordained in Philadelphia. This caused a division in the congregation and the withdrawal of Boehm.

At Egypt Boehm had preached occasionally and baptized children from 1734 to 1736. Goetschy followed him in March 1739. He entered nine baptisms in the Egypt record, from March to September, 1739.

Goetschy also attempted to invade Tulpehocken, and preached there, which the elders declared was done without their knowledge and consent. These interferences of Goetschy with the work of Boehm continued from 1735 to 1739. In the latter year Goetschy withdrew, owing to the demand of the Fathers in Holland that the Reformed congregations "refuse to hear the unordained ministers and hirelings, and refuse to accept them for the administration of the holy sacraments, among whom are included the young Goetschy and Van Basten, who while students presume to do everything that belongs to a regular minister."

In the year 1737 Peter Henry Dorsius arrived in Pennsylvania, engaged by the Dutch Reformed congregation of Neshaminy, or Southampton, Bucks County, as their minister. Before leaving Holland, Dorsius had appeared before the Synodical Deputies, who asked him to secure them some definite information about the German Reformed churches in Pennsylvania. When he arrived in Pennsylvania, he invited Boehm to a conference at his home in Neshaminy, which visit took place on November 28, 1738. He asked Boehm to make a report on three questions: (1) How many Reformed congregations there were; (2) How many elders, deacons, and communicants were in each; (3) How they were supplied with schoolmasters and precentors.

To answer these questions Boehm prepared an elaborate report, dated January 14, 1739, in which he gave accurate and detailed information regarding these points. Later, on December 6, 1739, Dorsius added another question: How much each congregation was willing to contribute towards a minister's salary. This question demanded of Boehm a long and wearisome journey of three hundred miles, in the depth of a severe winter—January, February, and March, 1740—during which he gathered the pledges of seventeen congregations, which he suggested could be organized into six charges.

Dorsius received this report and these pledges, but instead of sending them directly to Holland he prepared on their basis a report of his own, in Dutch, and sent that to Holland, without mentioning Boehm's name, making it thus appear that he (Dorsius) had gathered all this information. When Boehm heard of this action of Dorsius he was much displeased and at once sent copies of his reports to the Classis and the Synodical Deputies. But the credit went to Dorsius, the Deputies even promising to reimburse him for his traveling expenses, although Boehm had done all the traveling. The bad feeling was increased when the sending of the reports was discussed in the congregations. Then Dorsius insisted that Boehm was a rascal if he claimed that he (Dorsius) had not sent the reports. That ended their friendship and cooperation. Henceforth Boehm carried on his own correspondence with the Fathers in Holland.

A much more important and subtle attack on the work of Boehm was made by the union movement of Count Zinzendorf. When Nicholas Ludwig, Count von Zinzendorf, arrived in Pennsylvania in November, 1741, there were no permanent organizations among the German religious groups in the province. It is true, there was a considerable number of Reformed and Lutheran congregations (about twenty-six in each communion). The smaller religious groups, such as Mennonites, Dunkers, Sabbatarians, Schwenkfelders, and Newborn, were in a similar disorganized condition. Hence, as the biographer of Zinzendorf, Bishop

Augustus Gottlob Spangenberg, expressed it: "He wanted to see whether among the many sects (in Pennsylvania), with whom the land was filled, he could not do something for the Saviour." Spangenberg quotes Zinzendorf as saying: "I cannot limit myself to the Moravian Church, to make only that my business which pertains to my office as Bishop, but my call, which I felt to have received from my Lord, and not from any man, goes farther. It is to serve all men."

On another occasion Zinzendorf is reported to have said: "I am and shall indeed remain bound to the Moravian Brethren, who have taken the gospel of Jesus Christ to heart, and have called me and other brethren to the service of the congregation; but I do not thereby separate myself from the Lutheran Church; for a witness of Jesus can live and abide in this religion. Nevertheless, I cannot limit my witness to one religion, for the whole earth is the Lord's and all souls are his; hence I am a debtor to all."⁴

With these ideas and aims Zinzendorf reached Philadelphia, on November 29, 1741 (o.s.). He at once called upon the men who had been recommended to him by Spangenberg: John Bechtel in Germantown, Christopher Wiegner in Skippack, and Henry Antes in Frederick Township. Antes went with the Count's party to the Forks of the Delaware. On the way they discussed the advisability of calling a conference of all German church people and sects, a subject in which, Antes told Zinzendorf, he as well as other friends had been interested for a number of years. Finally the lot was used to decide the question. It was in the affirmative. The further question, *when* the conference should be held, was decided by lot: "The sooner the better." Zinzendorf then commissioned Antes to send out a circular letter to the leaders of all parties,⁵ inviting them to a conference to be held in Germantown on the first of January 1742 (o.s.). In the words of the call, the conference was to meet "in order to treat peaceably concerning the most important articles of faith, in order to ascertain how closely we can approach each other in fundamental points and in other matters that do not subvert the ground of salvation, to bear with one another in charity, that thus all judging and condemning among these above-mentioned souls might be abated and prevented."⁶

As a result of this call seven conferences, or "Pennsylvania Synods," were held in 1742, which were at first largely attended (fifty persons handed in their names at the first conference) by representatives of all the German groups in the province: Lutherans, Reformed, Mennonites,

⁴ *Leben des Herrn Nicolaus Ludwig Grafen und Herrn von Zinzendorff*, (1774), 1335, 1345.

⁵ Fresenius, *Bewährte Nachrichten*, III, 138.

⁶ Fresenius, *op. cit.*, III, 303-305.

Dunkers, Sabbatarians, Schwenkfelders, Separatists, Mystics, and Moravians. None but the Seventh Day Dunkers at Ephrata sent regularly chosen delegates; the rest came in their private capacity. Gradually one after another of these representatives withdrew, until only some individual Lutherans, Reformed, and Moravians were left. The direction of the conferences was entirely in the hands of the Moravians. Beginning with the second conference Zinzendorf himself acted as "Syndicus."

The truth of the matter was that none of the religious groups wanted to give up its peculiar tenets or practices. It was a movement more than a century ahead of its time, and was bound to fail in these circumstances.

In the last conference Henry Antes was instructed to prepare another circular letter, in the name of the Synod, inviting all the children of God to join the "Congregation of God in the Spirit," as the new movement was to be called. A distinct effort was made to divide the Reformed people, and to take them away from the oversight of the Church of Holland, on the plea that it was teaching an unscriptural doctrine of predestination. Instead, all those who approved of the "Articles of the Synod of Berne"⁷ were asked to accept John Bechtel, Henry Antes, Peter Miller (a shoemaker of Germantown), and John Brandmiller as their teachers.

This was a trumpet call to John Philip Boehm to rush to the defense of his disturbed congregations. In 1742 he published a booklet of one hundred pages, entitled; *Faithful Letter of Warning to the High German Evangelical Reformed Congregations and Members in Pennsylvania, etc.* It was printed by Andrew Bradford, of Philadelphia. In it he attacked the union movement with biting sarcasm and much calling of names, which he took over from two Dutch polemical books issued against the Moravians in Holland. He carefully reviewed the printed minutes of the union synods and showed their inconsistencies, as well as the deceits practiced by their missionaries, who appeared as true Reformed while in reality they had fallen away from the Reformed Church. This was true of John Bechtel as well as of Henry Antes. The latter had been one of Boehm's closest friends, who many years before had urged him with tears to assume the pastorate of the Reformed congregations in the Perkiomen Valley. Boehm also pointed out the empty pretense of Zinzendorf, who had said in Philadelphia, "I am saved and whoever comes to me and accepts my doctrine will be saved also." This he did on the plea that "Jesus had given him the right or power over all the children of God in this land." (*Letter of Warning*, p. 59). Further, Zinzendorf had claimed to be a

⁷ This Synod of Berne, held in 1532, was totally unknown to the German Reformed people of Pennsylvania, nor are its "Articles" to be found in any of the modern collections of Reformed creeds. Zinzendorff had come across them on a visit to Switzerland. They impressed him because they emphasized that Christ was central in Christian doctrine.

Lutheran preacher, and yet he had declared that the observance of Saturday as the Sabbath by the Sabbatarians of Ephrata was a "respectable practice"; but when they rejected his overtures and published tracts against him he had scolded them as "a rabble (*Rotte*) which contributed to the complete Babel in Pennsylvania." The invitation extended to the Reformed people to join "The Congregation of God in the Spirit," and to recognize Bechtel, Antes, and Brandmiller as their leaders, Boehm answered with a resolution of twenty-nine of his elders and deacons, in six congregations, that they could not recognize "any one as a member in our communion, who has separated or will separate from our church and has sullied his soul with this infamous doctrine, until his complete conversion to the divine truth, upon which our church is founded." (*op. cit.*, p. 88).

When Boehm discovered that his book, in spite of its low price, was not selling well, he issued a four-page abstract, in which he centered his attention upon the so-called Reformed missionaries, Lischy, Bechtel, and Antes, whom, he declared, instead of being Reformed, "I for my part consider as Moravians." What he particularly objected to was that they went about offering to preach free of charge, while the apostle Paul had declared, "They who preach the gospel should live of the gospel."

The result of these writings of Boehm was that none of the Reformed congregations to which Lischy preached in 1743 and 1744⁸ was separated from the Reformed Church. Only individuals (both Reformed and Lutherans) were persuaded to join the new movement and later assisted in organizing Moravian congregations—a result which Boehm had predicted.

During the last years of his life Boehm continued to be active in the founding of churches. But these activities were only preliminary to reorganizing his wide field and surrendering parts of it to younger and stronger hands.

September 7, 1746, must have been a happy day for John Philip Boehm, for on that day there came to his home the Rev. Michael Schlatter, of St. Gall, Switzerland, sent by the Synods of Holland to Pennsylvania for the purpose of organizing the Reformed congregations of the province into a permanent religious body, to be known as the "Coetus [Convention] of the Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania," subordinate to the Church of Holland.

Schlatter describes this first meeting with Boehm in his private diary: "September 7th, (1746), I traveled to the plantation of Do. Boehm,

⁸ They were: Heidelberg, Bern, Blue Mountain, Mill Creek, Muddy Creek, Co-calico, Warwick, Donegal, Quitopahilla, Coventry, Swatara, Earl Township, Tulpehocken, and York.

in Whitpain Township. I found his Reverence in the field, but he went immediately with me to his house and showed me every possible kindness. He promised me also, after having heard my commission, to assist me with word and deed. This he is doing now in all sincerity, according to the best of his ability."

The arrival of Schlatter answered the earnest prayers of Boehm, offered for many years, that God would send help to the Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania. He expressed his feelings of joy in a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, dated November 23, 1746:

"Now we see that, after the Lord has made us to pass through such a severe trial, he will finally manifest his grace, in answer to our continued prayers, and will strongly incline the hearts of our devout Church Fathers to us, poor members of Christ. For you have sent to us a man, brought from a great distance and with great sacrifices, for the best interests only and the establishment of our true church, in order to supply the same with a sufficient number of faithful ministers."⁹

The next step was for the four Reformed ministers then in the province—Messrs. Schlatter, Boehm, Weiss and Rieger—to meet at the home of Schlatter for a preliminary conference, at which meeting "Articles of Peace" were drawn up and signed by those present. The definite organization of the Coetus took place on Sept. 29-October 2, 1747, when four ministers and twenty-seven elders, representing twenty congregations, met in the old Reformed Church in Arch Street, Philadelphia. They signed a statement in which they declared that Mr. Schlatter had been chosen to transmit the minutes of this first meeting to the Fathers in Holland. Unfortunately this copy failed to reach its destination. But a copy made by Boehm for his own use, and found among his papers by Schlatter after Boehm's death, was sent to the Synods and is preserved in their archives at The Hague.

At the second meeting of the Coetus, held at Philadelphia in the "new" church¹⁰ on September 28th and following days, the well-deserved honor of being chosen president of the Coetus was bestowed upon Mr. Boehm. It was the fitting climax to his many years of service.

At the suggestion of Boehm the members of the Coetus signed the confessional standards of the Church of Holland: the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Canons of the Synod of Dort. This act was meant to fix the doctrinal position of the Pennsylvania Church, although the Canons of Dort never played an important part in the history of the church. It

⁹ For this and other letters of Boehm see the writer's *Life and Letters of the Rev. John Philip Boehm*.

¹⁰ The new six-cornered church at Philadelphia was dedicated on December 6, 1747, by Schlatter.

is doubtful that any of the members had ever seen them or read them.

Under the influence of Boehm the Coetus of 1748 adopted also the "Church Order" of Boehm, which he had originally drawn up in 1725 for his first three congregations. After Boehm's death it fell into oblivion and is never mentioned afterwards. As president of the Coetus Boehm was instructed to have the minutes and the "Church Order" printed. The latter was published at Philadelphia, printed by Gotthard Armbrister, in 1748, with the title: *Der Reformirten Kirchen in Pennsylvanien Kirchen-Ordnung, etc.* Philadelphia, Armbrister, 1748, pp. viii, 14.

By his numerous and extensive journeys Boehm had aged and become feeble. Hence he felt that it was necessary for him to be relieved of part of his heavy burden. In December, 1746, he gave up Philadelphia to Schlatter, who preached his introductory sermon there on January 1, 1747. Three other congregations—Tulpehocken, Falkner Swamp, and Providence (now Trappe)—he found increasingly difficult to supply. He was glad, therefore, when in August, 1748, Dominicus Bartholomae arrived, whom he was able to install as pastor of Tulpehocken on October 23, 1748. In September, 1748, another new minister arrived, sent by the Church of Holland, the Rev. John Philip Leydich, whom Boehm installed as his successor at Falkner Swamp and Providence on October 16, 1748.

In place of these two churches, Schlatter helped Boehm to organize a new congregation near his home in Whitpain Township, now Boehm's Church, at Blue Bell. Its organization took place on February 7, 1747. By that time a small stone church had been built there, and, as the congregation was too weak to give Boehm more than ten pounds as his salary, Schlatter proposed to connect it with Skippack, Indianfield, and Tohickon—a proposal that was never carried out.

The last official act in the ministry of Boehm was a visit to Macungie and Egypt, which took place on April 28, 1749. On his return trip Boehm stopped at the home of his eldest son, Anthony William, at Hellertown. There he died suddenly and unexpectedly during the night of April 29th. His body was carried home and he was buried in the church now called after his name. As no Reformed minister was available, one of his neighbors, Martin Kolb, a Mennonite preacher, officiated at his funeral. On May 7, 1749, Schlatter honored his memory by a memorial sermon, which he preached at Germantown.

Boehm may well be called the Founder of the Reformed Church, for through his missionary activity he founded at least twelve congregations; namely, Falkner Swamp, Skippack, and Whitemarsh in 1725; Philadelphia, Hill Church, in Conestoga, and Tulpehocken Host Church in 1727; Cocalico in 1730; Oley and Egypt in 1734; Trinity Tulpehocken

in 1738; Providence in 1742; and Whitpain, or Boehm's Church, in 1747. Also he served occasionally Quitapahilla, in Lebanon County, and Coventry, in Chester County. While other Reformed ministers came and went, he remained faithfully at his post for twenty-four years.

He was, moreover, the defender of the Reformed faith, who protected his congregations against the attacks of their enemies. During the union movement of Zinzendorf he guarded his Reformed churches against apostasy and by pen and word of mouth warned them against disintegration and unfaithfulness.

Finally, Boehm became the historian of the early church, through his numerous letters and reports. Without them the opening quarter of a century, 1725-1750, would be almost a total blank, while with them he has placed the whole edifice of Reformed Church history in this country upon a solid and trustworthy foundation.

In October, 1925, the Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church celebrated properly the two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the first Reformed churches in Pennsylvania by John Philip Boehm, and thereby assigned to him his proper place in history.

JOHN CONRAD TEMPELMAN

1692-1761

All that was known until recent years about the early life of Tempelman was a statement of Michael Schlatter, that he had been born in Heidelberg, Germany.

Following this clue, investigations were carried on by the writer in Heidelberg, in 1898, which brought to light a number of interesting facts. The parents of Tempelman were Henry Tempelman, a miller at Weinheim, near Heidelberg, and Anna Maria Linck, the widow of Philip Linck, an army captain. They were married at Weinheim on April 24, 1691. Their first-born was John Conrad, born at Weinheim on March 22, 1692. In course of time John Conrad learned the tailoring business, which took him to Heidelberg, the capital of the Palatinate. There "John Conrad Tempelman, tailor, son of Henrich Tempelman, late citizen and miller at Weinheim," was married, September 22, 1717 to "Anna Maria, daughter of Andreas Barth, late citizen and carter of this place." They had two children: Anna Margaret, baptized September 11, 1718, and Anna Maria, baptized March 16, 1721. The entry of Anna Margaret's baptism in the church record of St. Peter's Church, at Heidelberg, refers

to Tempelman as "tailor living at the Castle Hill."

Shortly after 1721 young Tempelman emigrated with his family to Pennsylvania, where he settled in Conestoga Township, Lancaster County.

In 1725 his neighbors persuaded Tempelman to lead them in religious worship. Referring to the first services conducted by him, Tempelman wrote to the synods of Holland, in 1733: "The church at Chanas-tocka had its origin in the year 1725, with a small gathering in houses here and there, with the reading of a sermon, and with song and prayer, according to their High German church order, upon all Sundays and holidays." At first he did not administer the sacraments, but on September 8, 1732, he baptized Susanna, daughter of Henry Bauman and his wife Catharina, nee Doerr, in Earl Township.¹ That act may be regarded as the beginning of his ministerial career.

On February 13, 1733, Tempelman wrote an important letter to the Synods of South and North Holland, in which he described his pastoral activity. He was preaching at that time to three congregations. The fact that he names their elders enables us to identify them. They were as follows: (1) Rudolf Heller, Michael Albert, and Andries M——. This congregation is now known as Heller's church, in Upper Leacock Township. Mr. Boehm called it the "Hill Church"; he gives Mr. Albert as one of its elders in 1740. (2) Hans Georg Schwab, Johannes Goehr, and Conrad Werns. The names of Conrad Werns and Johannes Goehr are found in the Cocalico record, and Hans Georg Schwab is located in Conestoga Township in 1727, by a letter of Rev. George Michael Weiss to him. He was one of Weiss's traveling companions. (3) Johann Jacob Hock, Andries Halsbrunn, and Nicholas ——, represent the Lancaster congregation, of which Hock was at first elder, later, beginning with 1736, the pastor.

On January 17, 1734, Tempelman applied for a warrant for 200 acres of land in Leacock Township, which had been cut off from Conestoga Township in 1729. The survey was returned for 223½ acres. The tract adjoined lands of John Line and Jacob Heller, two of his elders at the Heller church. This locates Tempelman in the neighborhood of Mill Creek, one branch of which passed through John Line's land. On March 7, 1737, John Casper Stoever, his Lutheran colleague, followed suit, taking out a warrant for 200 acres in Leacock Township, where he made his first home.

When Peter Miller withdrew from the Reformed Church in 1734, it is more than likely that Tempelman took over his work in three other congregations in the Conestoga valley: Muddy Creek, White Oaks, and

¹ The record of these baptisms is in a German family Bible. A photostatic copy is in the possession of the writer.

Seltenreich, all near New Holland.

On July 8, 1744, John Philip Boehm wrote to the synods of Holland: "The surrounding congregations, around or near Cannastocka have long ago taken up with a man, Conrad Tempelman by name (he is from Heidelberg), a tailor by trade, and have made the same their minister. I know him, for he was a schoolmaster and reader in the Hill Church, when I served them at the beginning. Of the same I noticed at the time nothing wrong in his life and conduct, and since have heard of him nothing but what is praiseworthy, especially that he is very watchful against the sects, and that his congregations are very much united."

When Michael Schlatter, the organizer of the Coetus of Pennsylvania, met Tempelman, in June 1747, he also gave him a fine testimonial:

"Up to this time, these congregations have been edified and served by a certain tailor from Heidelberg, named Tempelman, whom the people some twenty years ago urged to this service, they being willing to be instructed and comforted by a pious layman rather than be wholly without the public service of God. This man is nearly sixty years of age, and is reported by the congregations as a man of correct views and peaceable in spirit, by which he has won the love and respect of the community."

The congregations mentioned by Schlatter as being served by Tempelman in 1747 were: Donegal, Muddy Creek, Cocalico, White Oaks, and Seltenreich. To these must be added Rapho, which Tempelman was serving in 1753; and, if we include Lancaster also in this list, we have a total of seven congregations which Tempelman founded or served in his early ministry.

But long before Schlatter appeared in Pennsylvania Tempelman had left his first home and had moved to Lebanon Township. On April 12, 1743, he secured a warrant for 200 acres of land in Lebanon Township. The warrant states that the interest and quit-rent were to commence from September 1, 1737. This was, probably, the time of his settlement on this tract. A survey returned on June 3, 1763, gives its exact size as 258 acres and 80 perches. The survey shows that his land adjoined tracts of Peter Grub, John Smith, Henry Smith, and Henry Steigle.² As Tempelman failed to meet the conditions of the warrant, his tract was patented in 1763 to Benedict Booker. Once again the Lutheran pastor, John Casper Stoecker, followed his Reformed colleague, by taking out at the same time a warrant for 300 acres in the same township.

Soon after the arrival of Tempelman in his new home, his presence made itself felt in the organization of new congregations. In the winter

² Photostats of the warrants and surveys (recorded in the Land Office Bureau, Harrisburg, Pa.) are in the possession of the author.

of 1739-1740 Mr. Boehm visited the Reformed congregations of Pennsylvania to ascertain what they were willing to contribute to the support of ministers. His trip was made in January, February, and March of 1740. He reported two new congregations in Lebanon Township—Swatara and Quitopahilla. But as these congregations certainly were not organized in the depth of a severe winter, they must go back at least to the summer of 1739, and probably even to 1738.

On February 14, 1740, Martin Kapp, a deacon, and three members at Swatara promised five pounds and ten bushels of oats towards a minister's salary. This clearly implies a full organization. The Reformed people at Quitopahilla (Hill church near Annville), who had John Blum as "a very able man for reader," agreed to join temporarily with the second Tulpehocken church (Trinity), which was eight miles distant from Blum's home.

At Swatara Tempelman opened the first church record with a baptism, dated October 1, 1740. By December, 1744, they had a church at Swatara, located on a hill, according to a report of Jacob Lischy, who was then the pastor. But by 1746 Tempelman was again in control at Swatara, and from that time until 1756.

At Quitopahilla twenty-six Lutheran and twenty-four Reformed people signed an agreement in which they pledged themselves to allow, in the union church which they had erected, no other preaching than that which was in agreement with the Augsburg Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism. Conrad Tempelman signed as pastor of the Reformed congregation. He continued preaching at the Hill Church until 1756, when increasing age compelled him to retire.

At Muehlbach, in Mill Creek Township, the church record has the following inscription on the title page:

"Muehlbach Church Record for baptisms and marriages, begun in 1747, during the time that the Rev. Mr. Tempelman served the congregation." There was a preaching place at Muehlbach as early as 1744, when Jacob Lischy visited there occasionally. In 1751 a new church was built, whose corner-stone was laid July 15, 1751. An agreement, written on parchment that day, is still in existence. One of the signatures was Tempelman's. Here his ministry seems to have extended to 1752, when he was succeeded by Henry William Stoy.

At Kimmerling's church, in North Lebanon Township, a flagon is preserved that bears the date 1745. The church record was begun by Tempelman in 1754. On page 3 of the record is the following entry:

"In the year 1754 the church record or protocol was presented by Peter Schlosser, after the New Quitopahilla church was built in 1752." Tempelman preached there till 1755, when he was succeeded by Stoy.

A fifth congregation begun by Tempelman in Lebanon Township was the Grubben church, where we have definite evidence that he was preaching up to 1759, but where his ministry probably went back to 1747, when a church in Lebanon [Township] is mentioned in a letter of Conrad Weiser.

There is a sixth congregation with which Tempelman was connected, at least for a few years. It was Tolpehill, or Klopp's Church, in Bethel Township, where, according to the Coetus minutes (p. 109), Tempelman was preaching in 1752-53, and perhaps to 1755, when, according to the church record, the ministry of Henry William Stoy began.

Finally, there is a seventh congregation, where, at least according to tradition, Tempelman was active. It was Walmer's church, in Union Township, where Peter Walmer on August 14, 1751, purchased from the proprietaries of Pennsylvania land on which a church was erected soon afterwards. Here too Tempelman is said to have preached.

Thus all the early Reformed congregations in Lebanon County, with the single exception of Schaefferstown, were either founded or at least served by Tempelman.

No wonder that Schlatter and the members of Coetus felt that such zeal and faithfulness ought to be rewarded. His case was reported to the Fathers in Holland, and, after their consent had been obtained, Tempelman (and Jonathan DuBois) were ordained to the Gospel ministry by the Coetus held at Lancaster, on Saturday, October 21, 1752. The salary that Tempelman received from his congregations was very meagre. In 1753 he reported the yearly salary from four congregations—Swatara, Quitopahilla, Tolpehill, and Rapho—as £25, or about \$65.00. In the same year he declared (*Minutes*, p. 87) "that, although the income from his ministry was not large, yet he suffered no lack in temporal things"; hence only £6 15s were assigned to him from the Holland donations.

In 1747 Tempelman expressed to Schlatter his willingness to confine his activity to the churches nearer to his home—"Quitopahilla, Swatara, Donegal, etc."—and Schlatter agreed that, owing to his age, this would be the better plan. At any rate, Tempelman gave up his congregations in Lancaster County in 1748. But, as we have seen, his age did not interfere with his missionary activity. He was still strong and energetic enough to spread his labors over a large part of Lebanon County, from 1748 to 1756.

In 1757 the minutes of the Coetus refer to the fact that Tempelman was suffering from "defective eyesight." As a result he was compelled to give up his congregations, while the neighboring ministers took over his work, as much as possible. In October, 1760, he was reported as

"stone blind" and preaching only rarely, at his home. In 1761 he received for the last time his share of the Holland donations. He died probably in the same year.

Tempelman was married when he came to Pennsylvania. His wife must have died sometime after his settlement in Lebanon Township. On September 25, 1745, his Lutheran colleague, Mr. Stoever, married him to Mary Elizabeth Buch. She too must have passed away before the year 1760, because in the last years of his life he is reported to have lived with his sister, Mrs. Brunner. In 1747 Schlatter reported him as residing at Swatara, where he had a family and a small piece of land. About his family we know very little.³ The Quitapahilla record mentions, in 1747, a Michael Tempelman and his sister Barbara; in 1751 a John Tempelman, single, and Anna, nee Tempelman.

Tempelman died in 1761 and was buried at a place called Tempelman Hill, about four miles southeast of Lebanon, near the village of Rexmont, close to his place of residence. His home was standing till recently. It has now been torn down, but a picture of it has fortunately survived.

Tempelman was without question the most important early Reformed minister in the Lebanon valley. He has to his credit a ministry of thirty-five years (1725-1760), during which he preached to at least seven Reformed congregations in the Lebanon Valley, besides seven others to which he ministered in his earlier years in Lancaster County.

GEORGE MICHAEL WEISS

1700-1761

George Michael Weiss, son of John Michael Weiss, tailor, and his wife, Maria, nee Frank, was baptized at Eppingen, in the Palatinate, on January 23, 1700. Nothing is known of his youth or preliminary training, but on October 18, 1718, he matriculated at Heidelberg University: "Georgius Michael Weissius, philosoph. stud. Eppinga, Palatinus." He was still at the university in 1724, as appears from a list of Reformed theological students of that year (Toepke, *Matrikel*, p. 597).

A few years later, in 1727, Weiss applied to the Upper Consistory of the Palatinate for ordination, as he intended to go to America with a colony of his friends and countrymen. His petition was granted and he was ordained. In his certificate of ordination, dated May 1, 1727, (of which

³ In 1737 "Conrad Tempelman's daughter" served as sponsor to a child baptized in the Lancaster congregation.

he has left a copy in the church record at Catskill, N. Y.), the Consistory states: "Since he [Weiss] announced of late that he had conceived the plan with some of his fellow-citizens and friends, well-known to him, to undertake a journey to the transatlantic parts of the world, if it should please Divine Providence to entrust him with the leadership of a congregational flock, to teach and to guide them there, and since he asked that to that end he be fully inducted into the spiritual office with the laying on of hands, Therefore, ——— we have admitted him to the office of the ministry of the Divine Word and have ordained him by the imposition of hands and by extending to him the right hand of fellowship in the sacred ministry."

On September 18, 1727, Weiss landed at Philadelphia with a colony of about 300 Palatines, 51 of whom appeared at the courthouse in Philadelphia and signed the oath of allegiance to the King of England on September 21, 1727.

When Weiss arrived in Pennsylvania in 1727, he found the beginnings of religious life among the German Reformed people of the province already in existence. In 1725 the beginning had been made by two laymen, John Philip Boehm, in the Perkiomen Valley, and John Conrad Tempelman, in the Conestoga Valley. No sooner had Weiss heard that Boehm, a layman, was acting as a minister than he tried to stop him in his work. On October 2, 1727, he addressed a letter to Mr. John George Schwab, one of his traveling companions, who had settled in the Conestoga Valley, in which he informed him that he was ready to preach to the Reformed people at Conestoga. But he also expressed his surprise that Mr. Boehm, a layman, had dared to assume the rights of a minister, for which he was not qualified, and that therefore he was unable to recognize him as such.

He went even a step farther. He wrote to Mr. Boehm, challenging his right to act as a minister and summoning him to appear in the manse of the Presbyterian minister in Philadelphia, to be examined as to his qualifications for his work. Boehm, of course, ignored this summons. The adherents of Boehm then called upon Weiss to prove that *he* was an ordained minister. He showed them his Latin certificate of ordination. They refused to accept this, as none could read it. They challenged him to produce a German certificate that they could read and understand. Hence, on December 3, 1727, Weiss wrote to the Consistory at Heidelberg, giving them an account of the religious conditions in Pennsylvania and asking them to send him a German certificate of his life and doctrine. To this the Consistory responded on April 26, 1728. In this new certificate they state:

"We certify, as we did before, that he is not only orthodox in doc-

trine and unblamable in his life, peaceable and sociable in his conduct, but he has also been found edifying in his sermons, which he has preached on several occasions, and we have no doubt that, if the Lord grant him health, he will be of great usefulness under divine blessing and be a means of edifying many souls."

The opposition of Weiss to Boehm led to a result altogether unexpected by Weiss. The elders of Boehm appealed, through the Dutch Reformed pastors at New York, to the Classis of Amsterdam for the ordination of Boehm, which, after some correspondence to and fro, was allowed by the Classis on June 20, 1729. As a result, the ordination of Mr. Boehm took place in New York city on November 23, 1729. Mr. Weiss was asked to come to New York, and was present at the ceremony of ordination. A personal reconciliation of the two men was effected, in which Weiss promised to recognize the ministry of Boehm and not to interfere with his work. Weiss promised also to confine himself to Philadelphia and Germantown, and to leave Falkner Swamp, Skippack, and Whitemarsh to Mr. Boehm. Unfortunately these promises were not kept by Mr. Weiss, due to the pressure of his adherents.

Before this agreement had been reached, Weiss had carried on a considerable pastoral activity. The main centre of his activity seems to have been the Goshenhoppen region, where he preached for the first time on October 12, 1727. He preached at Skippack on the 19th and at Philadelphia on the 26th of October. These are the first definite dates of church life available for these three congregations, although Mr. Boehm had occasionally preached at Skippack and at Philadelphia before the arrival of Weiss. The latter preached also in the Conestoga Valley and at Oley, in Berks County. At the latter place he came in contact with the New Born, a sect founded by Matthias Bauman, against whom Weiss published in 1729 the first book written by a German Reformed minister in Pennsylvania. Its title, translated into English reads:

The Preacher, traveling about in the American wilderness among different nationalities and religions and frequently attacked. Portrayed and presented in a conversation with a New Born. Prepared and brought to light out of his own experience and for the advancement of the glory of Jesus by George Michael Weiss, V.D.M.

Printed at Philadelphia by Andrew Bradford, 1729, 29 p.

The purpose of the book was to show that the doctrines of the New Born were neither rational nor scriptural. Their rejection of prayer and of Holy Scripture, their repudiation of the ministry and of religious worship, including the sacraments, together with their claim of sinlessness, could not be accepted, because they have against them reason and Holy Scripture.

When Weiss came to Pennsylvania he found conditions very unfavorable to the maintenance of church life. The people were very poor, unable to build churches or to maintain ministers and schoolteachers. This is set forth clearly in a letter of the Rev. John B. Rieger and Dr. Jacob Diemer, written at Philadelphia to the Deputies of the Synods on March 4, 1733. They write:

"Most of the people, who come hither and have no means, are compelled to sell themselves [as indentured servants], and also their children, who generally must serve until their 20th year, as here in Philadelphia some hundreds are in the service of English people, but have the privilege of attending our services. . . . At Philadelphia, which is the capital and where most grain is shipped in order to convey it to other lands, there are but ten [Reformed] families who are well-to-do; all the others are in service. Among the townships Skippack is the most thickly settled, where about forty families may be counted, but they are poor for the most part and it is nearly thirty miles from the city. The other localities are at a still greater distance."

In view of these conditions Weiss realized that, unless help could be brought in from abroad, it would be impossible for him to remain in the province. As early as December 3, 1727, he made "a report to the Consistory of the Electoral Palatinate concerning the present religious and ecclesiastical affairs there." He also must have asked for assistance in behalf of the Reformed people in Pennsylvania. As a result, the Palatinate Consistory wrote a letter which was laid before the South Holland Synod, meeting at Woerden, July 6-16, 1728. The minutes refer to it as follows:

"The president read a letter addressed to this Christian Synod by the Great Consistory of Heidelberg, containing a request to receive something for the building of a church in Pennsylvania by our fellow-believers who have gone thither from the Palatinate, because they are compelled to conduct divine services under the blue sky. It has been thought that under the blessing of the Almighty this affair [undertaking] might result in a large blessing for the Church, and therefore it was resolved to recommend it earnestly to the classes."

Weiss wrote also to the Classes of Holland, which letter was delivered to Rev. Dr. Wilhelmus, of Rotterdam, a friend of the Palatines, who caused it to be laid before the Synod of North Holland held July 27-August 5, 1728, at Alkmaar. The minutes read:

"The corresponding delegates of the South Holland Synod recommended Philadelphia, from which this Christian Synod also received a letter containing a request to take up a collection for them, for the building of a new church by our fellow-believers who have fled thither from the Palatinate."

By these two letters Weiss brought the Reformed churches of Pennsylvania for the first time to the attention of the Church of Holland.¹ When the report reached Philadelphia that a sum of money had been collected in Holland for the Reformed churches of Pennsylvania, the elders of both Philadelphia and Skippack sent their pastor, Mr. Weiss, to Holland to take possession of this money. And, as there was some doubt in their minds whether Mr. Weiss would return to America, they associated with him Mr. Jacob Reiff, of Skippack, and gave him a power of attorney, dated May 19, 1730, by which he was authorized to take charge of the money in case Mr. Weiss would not return to Pennsylvania. The two travellers left at the end of May, 1730. It may have been a sudden decision, due to a letter from Holland, for Mr. Weiss had advertised in the *American Weekly Mercury*, from February 10 to April 9, 1730, for students to be taught logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics, etc. The result of these advertisements was probably disappointing, and that may explain why he set out for Holland so soon. The delegates were in Holland in August, 1730. On August 10, 1730, they received from the Rev. Jacob Geelkerke at Haarlem 390 *fl.* A few days later, August 15-16, they were at Rotterdam, where the contributions of the South Holland Synod, amounting to *fl.* 771.12, were handed to them. At the same time they appeared before the Synodical Deputies, to whom Mr. Weiss gave an account of the condition of the church in Pennsylvania. He was requested to prepare a chart showing the location of the different settlements, and also a statement indicating how many churches and ministers were needed for them.

On September 4, 1730, the delegates appeared before the Classis of Amsterdam. To it too Mr. Weiss gave a similar statement, or report, stressing especially the condition of the church at Skippack and also asking for a contribution for Philadelphia. On October 18, 1730, the burgo-masters of Amsterdam permitted them to collect 600 *fl.*, and in addition the consistory at Amsterdam gave them 150 *fl.*, and the diaconate 600 *fl.* The total amount thus handed to the delegates was *fl.* 2132.12, to which later 76 *fl.* from the Reformed church at Frankfurt-on-the-Main were added.

Weiss returned to Pennsylvania in the spring of 1731,² but without the collection money. The elders at Philadelphia had sent Reiff new instructions, according to which he was to invest the money in merchandise. This was a fatal mistake, which caused no end of trouble and held

¹ The letter of Mr. Boehm to the Classis, dated July, 1728, reached Holland in November.

² In an account of May 8, 1738, Weiss states that he was in Holland six months, that is, from August, 1730, to February, 1731. He left in March, 1731.

up the final settlement of the account till 1746, when Mr. Schlatter arrived in Pennsylvania with full power to settle the whole matter.

When Weiss reached Philadelphia, in the summer of 1731, he found John Peter Müller pastor of the congregations of Philadelphia and Germantown. He had arrived on August 29, 1730, and preached to these two congregations for about a year. He then left for Goshenhoppen and other congregations in the interior of the province. His place was taken by the Rev. John B. Rieger, who arrived on September 21, 1731, and shortly afterwards took the place of Müller, serving his congregations. A letter of the Philadelphia congregation, dated November 22, 1731, is in his handwriting.

Even before this event took place Weiss had received a call from Schoharie, in the province of New York, which he accepted. He asked his former elders at Philadelphia for a certificate of his life and conduct, which they gave him on September 22, 1731. But before he left he "purged himself with an oath that he had received of the collection money not more than 200 guilders, which had been used by him for traveling expenses, and he declared, under oath, that the other contributions were in charge of Elder Reiff.

Weiss stayed at Huntersfield, Schoharie County, New York, less than a year. On February 22, 1732, he asked for and received from the elders at Huntersfield a letter of dismissal, to accept a call, dated February 8, 1732, to Catskill and Coxsackie, N. Y. On March 9, 1732, he entered the first baptism in the Catskill Church record, which he himself opened on February 25, 1732. Fortunately for the historian, Weiss transcribed into the record his various calls and certificates, beginning with the ordination certificate given to him at Heidelberg, May 1, 1727. These documents enable us to trace his activity in New York state in greater detail than would be possible without them.

On August 12, 1732, Weiss wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam, notifying them of his removal and announcing the receipt of some earlier letters from the Classis. His letter expressed regret that his departure from Pennsylvania had left the matter of Reiff's collection in a confused condition.

Weiss remained at Catskill until July, 1735. On July 6, 1735, he entered his last baptism there. In 1736 we find him at Burnetsfield (German Flats), in the Mohawk Valley. A letter of the Classis, dated October 1, 1736, was addressed to him as minister at Burnetsfield, Albany County. In it he was informed that the Classis would send no more aid to Pennsylvania until the money collected by Weiss and Reiff had been accounted for, and that it was up to Weiss to clear his good name in the transaction. As a result Weiss visited Pennsylvania in May, 1738. He and Reiff then

wrote out a statement of the account, which they wanted the adherents of Weiss to sign, but they refused to do it. Weiss exchanged several other letters with the Classis, but they were barren of results.

In 1741 Weiss sent to the Classis a booklet, entitled: *A faithful description of the savages in North America, as to their persons, qualities, tribes, languages, names, houses, areas, ornaments, marriages, food, drink, domestic implements, political government, besides other remarkable matters, composed from personal experience by George Michael Weiss, V.D.M.* It covered 96 and a half octavo pages. It was signed at Albany, New York, by Mr. Weiss "of Burnetsfield," October 4, 1741. From the description given, it is not entirely clear whether the book was in print or in manuscript. Probably the latter. It has not been preserved in the archives of the Classis.

In 1742 Weiss accepted a call from the Dutch Reformed church at Rhinebeck, N. Y., where he ministered till 1746. In that year he returned to Pennsylvania. On November 10, 1746, Rev. Michael Schlatter recorded in his private diary that Weiss had returned to Pennsylvania "about six months ago, for fear of the war about Canada and at the request of the congregation of Goshenhoppen."³ This carries us back to May, 1746. At that time he resumed his pastorate of the three congregations in the Goshenhoppen Charge: Old and New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp.

On October 12, 1746, Weiss, Schlatter, Boehm, and Rieger met at Philadelphia for a preliminary conference, held with the intention of perfecting an organization of the Reformed churches in Pennsylvania. On October 19th Schlatter, Boehm, and Weiss met at New Goshenhoppen, to overcome, if possible, the division existing in that congregation through the presence of Frederick Casimir Mueller, an independent minister. They succeeded in determining the adherents of each preacher, namely, eighteen of Mueller and thirty of Weiss, but were unable to dislodge Mueller. He maintained himself there till 1748, and even later some visits were made by him to Goshenhoppen.

The organization of the Coetus of Pennsylvania was actually accomplished Sept. 29–Oct. 2, 1747, at Philadelphia, when four ministers and 28 elders, representing 20 congregations, were present. Mr. Weiss appeared with three elders from his three congregations. From the second meeting of Coetus, held at Philadelphia in September, 1748, Weiss was absent because of sickness. In 1749 he acted as secretary and in 1750 as president of Coetus.

When, early in 1752, the report reached Pennsylvania that Mr. Schlatter had succeeded in securing sufficient funds for putting the mis-

³ *Journal of the Pres. Hist. Soc.*, III, 108.

sionary work in Pennsylvania upon a substantial basis, and that he would soon return with five or six young ministers, Messrs. Weiss, Leydich, and Lischy⁴ published a *Circular Letter of the United Reformed Ministers in Pennsylvania*,⁵ in which they announced to the Reformed congregations the happy news, called upon them for increased zeal in their congregational efforts, and thanked the Fathers in Holland for their valued counsel and substantial help in their common task. A number of copies of this "Circular" were sent to Holland by Mr. Leydich on March 16, 1752.

On August 10-13, 1752, Weiss and the other Reformed ministers assembled at Philadelphia to welcome Schlatter and his six companions: Messrs. Waldschmidt, Stoy, Otterbein, Wissler, and Frankenfeld. Rubel failed to appear. They all accepted their assignments except Rubel, who had allowed himself to be elected by a faction of the Philadelphia congregation, an action which led to a prolonged quarrel, known as the "Rubel controversy." In this controversy Weiss sided with Rubel. It led in 1753 to a split in the Coetus, under the leadership of Weiss. The opponents of Schlatter, consisting of Weiss, Leydich, Waldschmidt, and Wissler, met in a rival Coetus at Cocalico, October 10-12, 1752. It was more than an effort to maintain the right of the elders to vote in the meetings of Coetus, as is commonly stated. It was, rather, an attempt to wrest the leadership in the Coetus from Schlatter and his party, and to transfer it to the elders, who were trying to run Coetus and to dominate the ministers. The Coetus' minutes confirm this condition of affairs, for Weiss and Leydich admitted to Schlatter that they had left Coetus "to maintain love and peace among their congregations, inasmuch as they were not in favor of subordination to Holland and to our Coetal institutions and directions."⁶ What brought the rebels to their senses was the discovery of the fact that they could not expect to participate in the donations from Holland unless they remained members of Coetus and accepted the direction of the Holland synods. Moreover, the Fathers in Holland refused to recognize the Coetus held at Cocalico and declared all its acts null and void. As a result a reconciliation was brought about in 1754.

Weiss participated regularly in the donations from Holland, beginning with April, 1753, and extending to 1762, when his widow received the last payment. Weiss participated also in the gifts for the Charity Schools, although there were no such schools in the Goshenhoppen region.

During his ministry at Goshenhoppen the membership in his congregations did not increase materially. In 1760 he reported 45 members

⁴ The actual writer was Lischy.

⁵ The German title reads: *Circular Schreiben der vereinigten Reformirten Prediger in Pennsylvanien*.

⁶ *Minutes of Coetus*, 92.

at New Goshenhoppen, 30 at Old Goshenhoppen, and 33 at Great Swamp. In 1757 a long and lingering sickness befell him, which made it impossible for him to travel to the meetings of Coetus after that date. In October, 1759, Coetus met at Goshenhoppen, "in the home of the sick Do. Weiss." In 1760 the congregations of Weiss expressed their willingness "patiently to bear with his age and infirmity." He died in August, 1761. David Schultz, Esq., in a letter to Daniel Rundle, dated February 3, 1776, wrote: "Anno 1761, in August, their said minister, Geo. Michael Weiss died." He was buried in the cemetery at New Goshenhoppen.

In spite of all the high hopes and expectations with which he started out on his ministry in Pennsylvania, he somehow failed to live up to these hopes. He began and ended with a more or less obscure ministry in one locality, without developing any outstanding leadership. Perhaps one of his colleagues, the Rev. Jacob Lischy, sized up his character. In a letter to a Synodical Deputy, dated December 12, 1752, he wrote: "The dear man is like a child, moved by every wind; he has completely surrendered his will to his congregations, so that they command him, but he does not command them. Neither he nor Do. Leydich have the courage to resist the evil-minded." That he was putty in the hands of his friends appeared on more than one occasion: first in his harmful attitude toward Mr. Boehm, and then in the case of the Reiff collection money. Later he took the same wavering position in the Steiner and Rubel controversies. Nevertheless there can be no question but he was a good pastor and desired earnestly the peace of the Church.

JOHN BARTHOLOMEW RIEGER

1707-1769

John Bartholomew Rieger was born at Oberingelheim, in the Palatinate, on January 23, 1707.¹ His father was John Adam Rieger, his mother Anna Magdalena, maiden name unknown. Young Rieger matriculated at the University of Heidelberg, on February 14, 1724, where he was a fellow-student of George Michael Weiss, who was at the university in 1724, although he had matriculated as early as 1718. We next meet Rieger in Philadelphia, where he landed September 21, 1731, on the ship "Britannia," with a colony of Palatines. That he came as the head of a colony is distinctly stated by the Rev. John Wilhelmius, of Rotterdam,

¹ This is the date given in the record of his baptism. His tombstone gives January 10.

in a report submitted to the Synodical Deputies on October 31, 1735. He writes: "The third [Reformed minister in Pennsylvania] is Candidate Rieger, who went over with another colony and became minister there. He has evidently become a Quaker, who refuses to baptize children and teaches publicly, to the detriment of the churches, that one can be saved in all religions." The last part of this statement is, of course, without any foundation, but it shows what curious rumors were afloat about Pennsylvania.

Shortly after his arrival in Pennsylvania Rieger was elected pastor of the Reformed congregations in Philadelphia and Germantown. On November 22, 1731, the members of the Philadelphia congregation wrote to the Holland Synods: "As Mr. Weiss has left us, in order not to allow our pulpit to remain vacant we have chosen the newly-arrived candidate Rieger as our minister, to whose planting and sprinkling among us the Lord may graciously grant his blessing from above."

The ministry of Rieger at Philadelphia became eventful through the now famous Reiff case. We can give the story of this case in brief in the words of pastor Rieger and his elders, written to the Synods of Holland on February 23, 1734. They write:

"We are at present in a lamentable condition because of the collected money, sent over to us, which had been given for the upbuilding of the Reformed Church and is still in the hands of the dishonest Reiff, who with Do. Weiss was in Holland in 1730 and 1731. We thought we could compel him to render an account and learn whether the collection book agreed with his statements, but it is all in vain. He insisted that he received no more than 750 guilders of Do. Van Asten, whereas, according to the statement of Do. Weiss, the collection book shows more than 2000 *fl.*"

In order to compel Reiff to render an account, the case had been taken to the Court of Chancery, but, as the prosecuting members did not have sufficient evidence to prove their contention, nothing was gained by this move. Finally a climax was reached in April 1734. A congregational meeting was held, at which Reiff was present. Then the members of the congregation learned to their surprise that the members of the Consistory had prosecuted Reiff on their own initiative, without any authority from the congregation, and were themselves the cause of the whole trouble, having advised Reiff by letter to invest the collected money in merchandise, which had been held up in the custom-house at Cowes, England. When the members of the congregation learned these astonishing facts, they at once resolved to depose the whole consistory and elect new men, who would serve the congregation more faithfully. This resolution was carried out and a new consistory was elected. This action of the congre-

gation displeased the pastor, J. B. Rieger, very much, because he sympathized with the deposed elders. As a result he left the congregation and accepted a call to Amwell, New Jersey.

The fact that Rieger actually went to Amwell and was pastor of the Reformed congregation there is proved by a letter of Rieger dated February 27, 1735, and addressed to the Rev. John Philip Boehm. It was signed, "John Barth. Rieger, minister at Amwell." He seems to have stayed at Amwell from 1734 to 1738.

On April 22, 1739, his handwriting appears in the Reformed Church record at Lancaster. He had accepted a call to Lancaster in April, 1739. From that date to February 3, 1743, Rieger entered 112 baptisms and 22 marriages in that record.

When Count Zinzendorf visited Pennsylvania in 1742 and started a movement to unite all German congregations in the province into what he called "The Congregation of God in the Spirit," in which each denomination, without giving up its denominational characteristics, should work together with the others in a higher unity of the Spirit, Rieger showed himself very favorable to the movement. On a certain Sunday, when Count Zinzendorf was in Lancaster, he attended the services of the Reformed Church. On the following Sunday, so reports Mr. Boehm, the sermon of Rieger was "nothing but a glorifying and praising of the piety and doctrines of the Moravian brethren." If he had counted on winning his congregation over to the new movement, he failed utterly. In fact, he displeased his members so much by his friendly attitude towards Zinzendorf and his efforts that they refused to renew his contract when it expired at the beginning of the year 1743. Being thus left without a congregation, he was compelled to look around for other means of support.

On August 9, 1743, the Rev. Henricus Boel, of New York, reported to the Classis of Amsterdam that Mr. Rieger had been to see him and "had stated that, on the invitation of Professor Hottinger (of Heidelberg), he was going to Amsterdam and Heidelberg, in order to give information concerning church matters and to get ministers from that place for Pennsylvania. Inasmuch as Professor Hottinger had been requested to do this by the Classis of Amsterdam, Mr. Rieger would also confer with the Classis on that subject." When Rieger reached Holland, the Clerk of Classis was directed, on October 7, 1743, to write to Mr. Rieger, "who is studying at Leyden, asking him if he will be pleased to give a further account to the assembly about the Church there [in Pennsylvania], as it was learned that he had offered to do so, which was done." On November 5, 1743, Rieger appeared before the Classis and gave an account of the Pennsylvania churches. He was given 40 *fl.* and was requested to answer more fully some questions in writing, which he promised to do. On

April 13, 1744, he sent a letter in which he gave a further description of the Reformed churches in Pennsylvania, answering the questions that he had been asked and advising the Classis what to do in their behalf. Whether he actually went to the Palatinate does not appear. But he was asked, on his return to Pennsylvania, to send in a fuller report.

Meanwhile he had matriculated at the University of Leyden, on March 20, 1744, as a student of medicine, 36 years old, and entering, because of poverty, without paying an entrance fee.

When Rieger returned to Lancaster, in March 1745, he settled down to practice medicine. He also tried to resume his pastorate in Lancaster, but found, to his chagrin, that the congregation had accepted as pastor a newly-arrived minister, Casper Ludwig Schnorr. Hence he served as pastor of several country congregations, especially Seltenreich, in Earl Township, and Schaefferstown, in Heidelberg Township.

On November 16, 1745, Rieger wrote a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam in which he stated that he had sent a more extensive report regarding the condition of the Reformed churches in Pennsylvania to the Rev. Mr. Brunnings. This report has unfortunately not been preserved in the Classical archives. He also defended himself against a charge of Mr. Schnorr, that he brought money to Pennsylvania but had not delivered it. He declared that he had not gone about begging for money in Holland. Thirdly, he reported that he tried to bring about an organization of the Reformed churches, but the fact that they were widely scattered and that there were differences of opinion had prevented his success.

When Schlatter came to Pennsylvania in September 1746, he found Rieger residing in Lancaster, practicing medicine and preaching to two country congregations. On October 12, 1746, Messrs. Boehm, Weiss, Schlatter, and Rieger met for a preliminary conference in Philadelphia, at which certain articles of peace were drawn up. On September 29, 1747, and following days, Rieger took part in the organization of the Coetus of Pennsylvania, with two elders from the Schaefferstown and the Earl-town Church respectively. In 1748 Rieger refused to sign the Canons of the Synod of Dort, but did so later, in 1752, when another statement regarding them was signed. In the first years of the Coetus Mr. Rieger was a prominent member. He was its president in 1749, 1753, and 1756, and its secretary in 1748 and 1755. In 1761 it is reported (*Minutes*, 201) that in his two little congregations—Seltenreich and Schaefferstown—he had about forty families. He served these congregations until 1762, when serious charges against him were brought before the Coetus, in June.

In a quarrel between two men, one of them, a wealthy citizen of Lancaster, had struck the other on the head with a stone, felling him from his horse. Twelve days later the man died, and Mr. Rieger, acting

as a physician, issued a certificate that death was due to a fever. Because he had not made a post-mortem examination of the body, there was general suspicion that he was trying to shield the man who had thrown the stone. When the Coetus met in June, 1762, a letter signed by sixteen Seltenreich members was presented to it, charging that Rieger had issued a false death-certificate. When the case came up, the examination was conducted by the secretary, Dr. Stapel, whose record of it in the minutes is the only report we have of the proceedings. Apparently none of the material facts was called into question, nor was there any inquiry into the extent of the injury caused by the stone. In his own defense Rieger asserted that he had not attended the man until "very late"; that the justice of the peace had not required him to make an autopsy; that he was not asked to swear that the man had not died as the result of his injury; he admitted that the throwing of the stone might have been the original cause of death, "but in addition to it the man had gotten a fever and had been at one time better than at another." The Coetus, considering irrelevant all these statements excepting the last, decided that Rieger "in such a doubtful affair undoubtedly acted against his medical oath and his ministerial conscience," and that he should no longer be recognized as a minister. He was given "ecclesiastical counsel" that "he should in his next sermon [at Seltenreich] lay down his office." The sentence passed upon him seems at first to have been disapproved by the Reverend Fathers in Holland, for, replying to a letter from them dated February 23, 1763, the Coetus wrote: "The complaints concerning the treatment of Do. Rieger pain us very much." But, referring to something in a letter written April 2, 1764, is the remark: "The decision against Dr. Rieger sustains our credit, and we consider it a just resolution."

For several years Dr. Rieger continued to preach to his two small congregations, and probably afterwards at other places, as he had opportunity.

Dr. Rieger died at Lancaster on March 11, 1769, aged 62 years and two months. He was buried behind the Reformed Church, where a large stone, lying horizontally, covers his grave. The inscription upon it, still quite legible in Dr. Harbaugh's time, is given in his sketch of Mr. Rieger's life. (*Fathers*, I, 300). Later the letters were re-cut.

Mr. Rieger was survived by his wife, Eva Catharina, and these children: John, Peter, Maria Catherine, Benjamin.

Rieger, although a man of undoubted ability, was wavering in his theological thinking. He himself confessed to Schlatter that "at one time he had been a little shaky."¹² His thoughtless statements surprised his friends and infuriated his enemies. At one time he suggested that those

¹² See Schlatter's *Journal* in the *Journal of the Presby. Hist. Soc.*, III, 118.

who died in infancy would have to go through a purifying process in the life to come. Hence, although he could have been a man of power, he died a broken man.

JACOB LISCHY

1719-1780

Jacob Lischy was born at Muehlhausen, then in Switzerland, now in Alsace, France. Although there are two Jacob Lischys in the German Evangelical church record at Muehlhausen (personally inspected by the writer in 1897), one born in 1716, the other in 1719, there can hardly be any doubt that it was the younger man who came to Pennsylvania in 1742, as is shown in his "Declaration" of 1748, discussed more fully below.

His father, Jacob Lischy, Sr. was born in 1692 and died March 25, 1748. He married Ann Maria Kilian, January 17, 1718. Jacob, their eldest son, was born May 28, 1719. A younger son, Paulus, was born 7 November 23, 1821. Young Jacob Lischy was a linen weaver by occupation.

In a pamphlet published by him in 1748, Lischy gives the following story of his life. He was converted, he writes, when fourteen years of age. In his 16th year he began to preach privately. When nineteen he visited Marienborn, together with a theological student from Basle. There he first came in contact with the Moravian Brethren. He liked Marienborn so well that he stayed there, and at Herrnhag, in the Wetterau, almost a whole year. He next visited Herrnhut, the headquarters of the Moravian Church, and remained there three quarters of a year, so that, with some months of travel, he was about twenty-two years of age in the spring of 1741, which identifies him with the younger Jacob Lischy, born in 1719.

When, in the fall of 1741, a colony of emigrants was sent to Pennsylvania, Lischy was one of its members. In February, 1742, the colonists were in London, where Bishop Spangenberg organized fifty-seven of them into the "First Sea Congregation," with a chaplain, stewards, exhorters, servitors, and nurses. They left London March 15, 1742, in the "Snow Catharine," which had been bought by the Moravians. They arrived in Philadelphia June 7, 1742. On the 8th (May 28, o.s.) twenty-nine of the passengers qualified by taking the oath of allegiance to the British king. Among them were Jacob Lischy and John Brandmueller, both of whom engaged later in missionary work among the Reformed congregations.

During the summer and fall of 1742 Lischy accompanied Count Zinzendorf, the founder of the Renewed Church of the Brethren, on several journeys, one of them, from July 24 to August 2, 1742, to the Delaware Indians, living beyond the Blue Mountains, west of the Delaware Water Gap. Later, Lischy reports, "Zinzendorf took me along when he traveled through the country preaching, and tried to make me acquainted with the Reformed people. Thus he offered my services to the people in Bern Township [Berks County], saying that I had already preached in Switzerland. Then we came to Philadelphia and Bro. Ludwig [Zinzendorf] arranged that I should live with my father-in-law in the city and from there should go preaching and make a beginning in the Reformed church in Germantown, which I did, and preached before his [Zinzendorf's] departure also at Bern, where he recommended me. . . . At first I pursued the method of an itinerant preacher, preaching in houses and barns, wherever it was appointed, and thus I made several trips through the country." On September 17, 1742, Lischy had married Mary, second daughter of John Stephen Benezet, merchant in Philadelphia. He was ordained in January, 1743, by Bishop David Nitschmann, assisted by Anthony Seiffert.

Shortly after his ordination Lischy settled at Cocalico, near Ephrata, from which place as a center he ministered to numerous Reformed congregations. In a report submitted to Bishop Spangenberg in December 1744¹ he named some eighteen preaching places to which he had been ministering: Heidelberg, Bern, Blue Mountains, and Tulpehocken, in Berks County; Hans Zimmerman's, Muddy Creek, two places in Cocalico Township, Warwick, Donegal, Earl Township, and Kissel Hill, in Lancaster County; Quitopahilla, Swatara, and Muehlbach, in the present Lebanon County; Coventry in Chester County; Goshenhoppen in Montgomery County, and York in York County. Several of these congregations had given Lischy regular calls. Thus, Coventry called him April 10, 1743. On May 19, 1743, thirty-six members at Coventry signed a constitution drawn up by Lischy. At Muddy Creek four elders and more than forty members signed a call to Lischy on Thursday before Easter, 1743. In the constitution, entered by Lischy in the Muddy Creek church record, occurs this significant statement: "The Holy Sacraments shall be administered and believed by us as is prescribed in the Heidelberg catechism, without in the least adding thereto or detracting therefrom."

But the ministry of Lischy among the Reformed congregations was not without opposition. People began to suspect that he was not "echt

¹ Translated by the writer and printed in the *Reformed Church Review*, IX, (1905) 517-534; X, (1906) 85-96.

reformirt." In order to defend his position he issued a pamphlet on March 1, 1743, entitled, *Jacob Lischy's a Reformed minister's Declaration of his Intention, addressed to his Reformed co-religionists.*² That Lischy was not the sole author of this pamphlet is evident from his report to Spangenberg, in which he states, referring to this declaration: "Brother Boehler assisted me very much and expressed my views thoroughly. Brother Antes assisted in getting the call into proper order. At the next conference it was decided that, after Brother Boehler had corrected the manuscript and had made a final copy of it, it should be printed. . . . After it was finished I distributed it wherever I preached. It had the desired effect, because it pleased everybody." The pleasure was not, however, of long duration. There was no denying that Lischy occupied an ambiguous position. In his eagerness to appear as a genuine Reformed preacher he even went so far as to deny his connection with his Moravian associates, which was condemned severely by the latter. Lischy himself pictures the situation very clearly in his report to Spangenberg. He writes:

"How I felt at times I can hardly describe. I often thought of giving up the churches and preaching again in houses, fields, and woods, but the brethren would not permit this, as it would have caused a premature separation. They often dissuaded me from doing this and I was told through Brother Boehler, that, if I did not try to hold the churches, my services would no longer be required, for they had resolved in the conferences that we would seek to sanctify the churches. Hence I gave full sway to my friends to keep and maintain the churches, which gave them the more courage to oppose and put to shame our adversaries. The latter, however, did not rest either, but furnished even stronger proof that I was a full-fledged Herrnhuter and even the chief of them. They also called upon the Rev. Mr. Boehm to help them, who continued and strengthened them in their opinion by his book directed against me. Finally, when they attempted to call my ordination in question and my calls to the congregations, I was compelled to convene a large council of elders. I preached once more in my congregations and invited them to assemble on August 29, 1743, at Heidelberg, where from twelve or more congregations about fifty elders and deacons appeared." After preaching a sermon, Lischy gave them a frank recital of his past life, explaining freely his connection with the Moravian Brethren in Germany, his coming to Pennsylvania, his ordination by Bishop Nitschmann, and his efforts to serve them. Then he asked them whether, in view of his past record, they wished to renew their call to him. They were all ready to do so.

² The German title reads: *Jacob Lischy's Reformirten Prediger's Declaration seines Sinnes an sein Reformirten Religions-Genossen.* [Philadelphia, 1743.]

This call, with a further statement, signed by eight elders and dated August 29, 1743, was printed as a broadside, under the title *Bekanntmachung*, i.e., "Public Notice."

In the fall of 1744 Lischy crossed the Susquehanna and went to York County. In the town of York he found a large Reformed church and a "still larger congregation of at least three hundred souls." A call was sent to him, signed by two elders, George Meyer and Philip Rothrock, on August 12, 1744. After he had declined the call, it was renewed by the whole congregation, May 24, 1745. This second call was accepted by Lischy and he preached his introductory sermon in York from Ezek. 2:1-7. But, before he was allowed to settle at York and Kreutz Creek as the regular pastor, he had to pass through another trial, which aimed to determine his exact status. This time the Moravian authorities insisted upon finding out exactly where he stood. Hence, on March 20-21, 1745, a second church council of the Reformed congregations was held, under Moravian auspices, at Muddy Creek, attended by sixty elders of twelve different congregations. Lischy was asked whether he was a Herrnhuter. At first he evaded the question, "carrying the church around the village," as Henry Antes expressed it. Being more closely questioned by other brethren—C. H. Rauch, Bechtel, and Antes—he publicly avowed that he was in connection with the Brethren at Bethlehem."³ With this statement they were apparently satisfied, for the time being.

In February, 1745, the Rev. Christian Henry Rauch was associated with Lischy, to supervise and assist him in preaching to the country congregations. A diary of Rauch, for February 5-26, 1745, is still in existence and also two diaries of Lischy, from February 23 to May 28, 1745, and again from August 13 to September 8, 1745. Together the two men visited and preached at Muddy Creek, Bern, Heidelberg, Schwarzwald, Tulpehocken, Swatara, Quitapahilla, Donegal, Warwick, Nicolaus Kissel's [near Lancaster], Earl Township, Coventry, Goshenhoppen, York, Kreutz Creek, and Bermudian. As soon as Lischy had definitely settled at York, his work as itinerant missionary was taken up by Rauch and Brandmiller.

The authorities at Bethlehem looked with increasing dissatisfaction upon the work of Lischy. But it was not till 1747 that he broke openly with them. On January 10, 1747, he sent a letter to Spangenberg, expressing regret at not being able to be present at the Synod to be held at Bethlehem on January 15th. On April 22, 1747, Lischy came with his wife to Bethlehem for a visit. Three papers had been handed to him by Rauch, one of which he was asked to sign. The first declared that he

³ See Reichel, *Early History of the Church of the United Brethren*, 191.

wished to be regarded as a member of the Moravian Church; the second, that he wished to be a Reformed pastor under the Reformed consistory of the Brethren; the third, that he wanted to be an independent Reformed minister. Lischy hesitated a long time to make a decision. But a Synod, held at Germantown, May 10-14, 1747, insisted upon it. A special conference was held with him to assist him in making up his mind, but no final conclusion was reached until Lischy had met Schlatter at Bethlehem on June 26, 1747. Schlatter writes regarding this event in his diary, under that date:

"Here in the providence of God I met with Jacob Lischy, who was at that time attached to that sect [Moravians]. This man, although he had never before seen me, resolved to accompany me a distance of ten miles to Nazareth. When we got into conversation, this man magnanimously manifested a hearty penitence and sorrow that he had suffered himself, with many other erring souls, to be bewitched by the crafty Brethren, and to become entangled in the net-destroying teachings and customs. This open-hearted acknowledgment gave occasion to an extended earnest conversation, in which I was fully persuaded of the honesty and sincerity of his intentions, and of his firmly-formed determination completely to separate himself from the Brethren, and gladly return again into the bosom of the true Reformed Church. I agreed to write to the Reverend Christian Synods in regard to this interesting circumstance, and wait for their counsel and direction, and earnestly advised him, meanwhile to consider the matter in the silence and the fear of God, and afterwards in writing transmit to me in Philadelphia his conclusion." In view of this promise of Schlatter, Lischy decided for the third alternative submitted by the Moravians.

His case came up for investigation before the first meeting of the Reformed Coetus, in September 1747. At the second meeting, in September, 1748, Lischy was asked to hand in his confession of faith,⁴ which he did October 26, 1748. At about the same time he wrote his *Second Declaration of his Intention*, printed by Saur in 1748, in which he publicly defended his separation from the Moravian Church. A third publication against the Moravians was issued by him in 1749, entitled, *A Warning Watchman's Voice . . . regarding the False Prophets*. This was a sermon, preached on the 8th Sunday after Trinity, 1749, provided with numerous annotations, and printed, like his other pamphlets, by Christopher Saur.

As a member of the Coetus, Lischy was a staunch defender of Schlatter

⁴ A copy of this confession was sent to Holland. It is now at The Hague, 74.I.51. An English translation was published by Dr. J. I. Good in the *Christian World*, December 17, 1898.

ter and sided with him in the various controversies with Steiner and Rubel. During the absence of Schlatter in Europe, from February 1751 to May 12, 1752, he assisted Weiss and Leydich in supplying Schlatter's pulpit in Philadelphia, and when Schlatter returned he first suggested and then issued, jointly with the other two men, a *Circular Letter of the United Reformed Ministers in Pennsylvania*, [Lancaster, 1752]. The minutes of 1752 (p. 86) show that Lischy saw this pamphlet through the press.

While pastor in York County Lischy passed through repeated disturbances in his congregations. In 1748 his opponents complained about his orthodoxy. Hence Coetus resolved that he should hand in his confession of faith, to be submitted to the Fathers in Holland for their approval. This was done, as has already been stated.

In 1752 complaints were again brought in about Lischy by certain of his members at York. But, after investigation by Coetus, it was resolved that the complaints were weak and insufficient for his removal. In 1753 Lischy actually resigned and delivered his farewell sermon, from Acts 20:21. But again the majority of his congregation rallied to his support and give him a new call, in January, 1754. To establish order and peace in the congregation Lischy wrote a stiff constitution, which was signed by eighty-seven members in January, 1754.

But the peace thus established was of short duration. In 1757, after the death of his first wife, he married his maid-servant under compromising circumstances. This gave such offense to his members, as well as to the Coetus, that he was suspended from the ministry, and, when he refused to appear before the Coetus of 1760, was excluded from membership. After that he moved to a farm, but continued his preaching as an independent minister. A careful examination of the Reformed church records in York County leads to the conclusion, based mainly on his handwriting, that he ministered to the following congregations: (1) Strayer's, in Dover Township, 1745-1769; (2) Jacob's, or Stone Church, 1753-1768; (3) St. David's, or Sherman Church, 1753-1769; (4) St. Peter's, or Lischy's Church, 1760-1769; (5) Wolff's Church, Manchester Township, 1764-1770; (6) Lower Bermudian, Adams County, 1745-1769; (7) Emmanuel's Church, Hanover, 1763-1769; and also Silver Run, in Maryland, during the same period. For the last-mentioned church he wrote a constitution, on May 31, 1762. This list shows that Lischy retired from the active ministry in 1770. He lived in retirement on his farm up to the time of his death in 1780. He was buried in a private burying ground on his farm. The tombstones of Lischy, his first wife, and his daughter-in-law were moved recently into the cemetery attached to Lischy's Church, near Spring Grove, in North Codorus Township. The

inscription on his tombstone reads: "In Memory of the Revd. Jacob Lischy, V.D.M. Born in Switzerland in Europe. Departed this life in the year A. D. 1781." The date, made at a later period, is not correct; for the Register of Wills Office at York has a record, dated February 15, 1780, in which his wife and daughters renounce the administration of his estate in favor of Peter Wolf and Daniel Messerly. An account of Lischy's estate was returned by them to the Register of Wills on March 27, 1781. Hence Jacob Lischy must have died prior to February 1780. The value of his estate amounted to £23,055, in Continental money.

MICHAEL SCHLATTER *

1718-1790

Michael Schlatter, the organizer of the Coetus of Pennsylvania, came of a distinguished family of St. Gall, Switzerland. His grandfather, also named Michael (1648-1714), was president of the theological college until 1699, president of the Synod in 1710, and of the St. Gall ministry in 1713. His father, Paulus Schlatter (1685-1748), a book-keeper by profession, married Magdalena Zollikoffer, daughter of a long line of pulpit orators. Of their six children, Michael, the eldest, was born, July 14, 1718, at St. Gall. After attending the local Gymnasium, he received theological instruction from Prof. Caspar Wegelin. Before his studies were completed, however, he left home without the knowledge of his parents and went to the house of a female relative in Holland. There he entered the University of Leyden on Dec. 27, 1736, and may later have attended classes at the university then in existence at Helmstadt. For a while he toured in the Netherlands with a Mr. Huerner, of Bern, and finally returned to Switzerland to finish his studies with Prof. Wegelin.

After his ordination on April 10, 1739, he returned to Holland. For some years he served as a private tutor, but in 1744 became vicar to John Jacob Beyel, Dekan of Wigoldingen, Canton Thurgau. On August 17, 1745, he became Sunday evening preacher in Linschuehl, a suburb of St. Gall; but on Jan. 9, 1746, he abruptly left this place and presented himself before the Consistory of the Palatinate at Heidelberg. Here he attracted the favorable attention of the Rev. John Caspar Cruciger, Ecclesiastical Councillor.

On Dec. 14, 1745, the deputies of the Holland Synod had written

* This life, the only one of the series left unfinished at the death of Dr. Hinke, was prepared from his notes by Elizabeth Clarke Kieffer.

to Herr Cruciger, asking his help in finding a suitable young minister to be sent by them to Pennsylvania. They needed an energetic and consecrated minister of the Reformed faith, one with abilities for organization and a knowledge of both the German and the Dutch language, so that he could serve as a go-between for the Synod and the German churches. To the Rev. Mr. Cruciger, young Schlatter seemed to embody this rare combination of qualities, and so on March 17, 1746, he wrote to the Deputies that he was sending them a volunteer.

Simultaneously with the letter, Schlatter himself appeared before the Deputies at the Hague, and their clerk recorded in the minutes:

"The Deputies, seeing his promptness, heartiness and Christian disinterestedness, combined with Christian humility, modesty, and friendliness, were profoundly rejoiced that they had encountered so worthy and capable a subject, the more so because they understood that he had already made arrangements at Frankfurt for the sending of German Bibles and catechisms to Pennsylvania. They perceived that through him they could organize the scattered Pennsylvanians."

Learning that a ship was to sail from Amsterdam at the end of May, Schlatter wasted no time. He visited the Classis of Amsterdam, which collected 720 *fl* toward his travelling expenses. Then he went to Rotterdam to visit Dr. Wilhelmi, an authority on the problems of the Germans in Pennsylvania. Having negotiated, there, with the Hope Brothers, shippers to America, for his passage, he returned to the Hague to attend another meeting of the deputies, April 25-28. They gave him \$242 (all the money they had in hand) and a written list of instructions covering eleven closely written folio pages. (Minutes of the Deputies, X, 622-632)

Stripped of their verbiage, these commissioned the young man:

- I. To consult with the German and Dutch ministers in the Province about establishing an annual Coetus, whose members should:
 - a) Pledge themselves to adhere to the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of the Synod of Dort.
 - b) Elect a president and secretary and under their guidance discuss the welfare of the churches.
 - c) Send a yearly report to the deputies on the condition and needs of the churches.
- II. Visit the churches and see that each congregation has a properly elected consistory with whom he shall consult according to the *Rules of Visitation* (copy enclosed).
- III. In places where no Reformed congregation has been formed, call together intelligent and zealous men, and learn from them how much money could be secured toward supporting a pastor and erecting a church. Install elders and deacons for such congregations.
- IV. Ascertain what has become of the 130 German Bibles sent in 1742,

and oversee their distribution.

- V. Settle the matter of the money collected in Holland by Mr. Reiff and Do. Weiss, which is reported to be as yet undistributed.
- VI. When all these matters have been attended to (the Deputies assume it can be done in about a year), he shall call the first Coetus, preside thereat, and send a faithful account to Holland.

After this he shall be free to accept the pastorate of whichever of the shepherdless congregations he prefers, and to serve it as long as he choose.

Undismayed by this commission, Schlatter sailed from Amsterdam, with Dutch and English passports, on June 1, 1746, on the "Great Britain," Wm. Davis captain. Because of the war between France and England, the ship sailed around Scotland, and, taking the northern route, landed in Boston, August 1, 1746. Here Schlatter was cordially welcomed by the prominent Dutch merchant, the Hon. I. Wendel (ancestor of Oliver Wendel Holmes). After resting at his home for only two days, the young minister set out on horseback for New York, where he stopped to confer with the Dutch ministers, going on to Philadelphia on September 6.

In this city, henceforth to be his headquarters, he secured lodgings with Elder Daniel Steinmetz, who remained his landlord for the next six months; but, after only one night in his new home, he set off again for Witpen, to meet the venerable John Philip Boehm, father of the Pennsylvania churches, who wrote of their meeting:

"Especially do I give thanks unto the merciful God, that He has finally, after much prayers and sighs, listened graciously to me, poor burden bearer, and has allowed me to see such an effectual instrument and kind brother and fellow-worker in his holy service." (*Life of Boehm*, p. 436).

From this beginning, Schlatter was seldom out of the saddle during his first five years in Pennsylvania. The crowded history of his activities in those years is told in his journal, published in 1752 in his appeal to the churches of Europe (reprinted in Harbaugh, *Life of Schlatter*, 1857. The full original journal probably was destroyed when Schlatter's house was sacked by the British in 1778). Lest anyone doubt the accuracy of his reports of his labors, they can be verified, almost day by day, by reference to the church records of the congregations he visited, and by collation with the reports and diaries of his contemporaries, such as Henry M. Muhlenberg, with whom he formed a life-long friendship.

Within one month of his arrival in Philadelphia he had made at least a beginning on every item of his commission. He had dealt justly, but firmly, with the irregularities of Mr. Reiff, from whom he finally collected \$360 of the money donated by the Dutch. He had located the missing Bibles, undamaged, in a warehouse in Philadelphia and had

distributed many of them. He had made the acquaintance of Dos. Boehm, Weiss, Rieger, and Dorsius, the only ordained ministers of his church then laboring in the province. He had visited the congregations at Goshenhoppen, Oley, Lancaster, and Tulpehocken, at most of which places he had preached and administered communion and held consistory meetings. He had also found time to mediate the dissension of the church in Philadelphia, and that in Germantown; and to preach and to administer the sacraments at both places.

The outstanding events of October, 1746, were the pastoral meeting at Schlatter's lodging, on the 12th, at which time, for the first in all their years of service, Dos. Boehm, Weiss, and Rieger (Dorsius was unavoidably detained) met together for discussion of common problems; and the meeting of Schlatter and Muhlenberg, on the 15th. Before winter shut him into Philadelphia two more pastoral tours were made, and then his energies were concentrated upon the local situation. At the advice of Boehm, who wished to be relieved of this part of his heavy duties, and at the earnest request of the congregations, Schlatter now determined to assume the pastorate of the Philadelphia-Germantown charge, before the expiration of the year suggested by the Synod. However, as he expected to be absent so frequently, he refused to accept a salary for the first year. On New Year's Day, he preached his introductory sermon in Philadelphia.

As soon as the roads were again passable in the spring of 1747, he was on the move again, organizing new congregations, preaching in homes and farmhouses, collecting and disbursing money. By April 29 he was ready for his "Great Journey" into the wilderness beyond the Susquehanna and in Western Maryland. On this trip he crossed the flooded Susquehanna in a boat manned by twelve oarsmen, visited the congregation "abandoned" by Lischy in York, and the one at Conewago (Christ's, Adams Co.). Crossing the mountains into Maryland, he gave communion to the congregation on the Monocacy (Frederick)), which he described as "one of the purest in the whole country and one in which I have found most traces of the fear of God."

Retracing his steps, he was back in Philadelphia on May 14, 1747. He stayed one day to attend to the minor detail of moving from his lodgings into a rented house, then went on to New York for further conferences with the Dutch ministers there. Almost the whole of June was devoted to a detailed inspection of the churches of Central Pennsylvania. In July he made a shorter tour of those in New Jersey.

The great event of the year was the first meeting of the Coetus of Pennsylvania, Sept. 29-Oct. 2, 1747, held in Schlatter's house and in the old church in Philadelphia. Here were assembled four ministers and

twenty-eight elders, representing twelve of the thirteen charges into which Schlatter had organized the province (Lancaster was the only one not represented). To have gathered together a group of this size from the remotest parts of the province, in order to study and to debate the united needs of churches which until then had been entirely independent and individualistic, was an achievement scarcely to be over-estimated. If his career had ended then, Michael Schlatter's name would still be remembered in the American church.

On October 11, 1747, Schlatter was married to Maria Henrica Schleidorn, of New York. The only other event of the year which he thought worth recording was his baptism, in Germantown, of a free negro and his child—surely a strange convert to the German Reformed faith.

The years 1748-1750 were as full of activity and achievement as those preceding; but as there is less novelty in his repeated visitations of the churches, they need not be so fully detailed. In May, 1748, he made a journey to western Virginia. After revisiting the churches at York and at Frederick he pushed on to the Conococheague and the Potomac. This country was then largely unsettled, and although he saw fruitful fields of "Turkish corn" he also encountered Indians, and a "fearful rattlesnake." He penetrated the Shenandoah Valley, and visited Fredericktown (now Winchester), and New Germantown (now New Market), and "another place" (probably Woodstock). In all of these places he gathered together the local Reformed people for services and the sacraments.

As commissioned by the Coetus, he and Dr. Rieger conferred with Mr. Lischy, the former pastor at York, whose orthodoxy was under suspicion because he had joined the Moravians, and later repented. Upon their advice Lischy was permitted to resume his charge, and was later, after consultation with Holland, admitted to the Coetus.

During the summer of 1748 the number of Schlatter's co-laborers was increased by the coming of Revs. Dominicus Bartholomaeus, J. J. Hochreutiner, and John Philip Leydich; but decreased by the departure of Do. Dorsius and the accidental death of the newly arrived Hochreutiner, in Schlatter's house in Philadelphia. The little company was again reduced by the sudden death of the Rev. John Philip Boehm, April 29, 1749. On September 27 of that year, while the Coetus was holding its session in Lancaster, word was received of the arrival of a new and notable minister, John Conrad Steiner, for whose sake the Coetus forthwith adjourned to Philadelphia.

Then, without warning, began Schlatter's first serious trouble in America. Mr. Steiner, having placed himself in the hands of the Coetus, was assigned to Lancaster, and had accepted the call. Being, however, detained by illness in Philadelphia, he was open to the persuasions of that

element of the Philadelphia Church which desired a permanent pastor with no outside commitments. All during the autumn Steiner flirted with these two calls, delaying his final decision until November, 1749, when, in defiance of all Church Law, he assumed the pastorate of Philadelphia and Germantown. In his letter to Holland, November 29, he alleged that his action was necessary to save the congregation from disaster, as the dissatisfaction with Schlatter was so great, and Schlatter's neglect of his pastoral duties so continuous. He even supported the injurious rumors which alleged that Schlatter had misappropriated the money recovered from Reiff.

That Schlatter would not have fought the case from any wish to defend his personal rights seemed evident from his whole career. His sense, however, of the need to establish, once for all, church discipline among these too independent churches of the new world led him to take a firm stand. The principle at stake was the right of the Coetus to determine the tenure of office of any minister. It was the desire of the Philadelphia congregation to establish the practice of holding annual elections, at which the minister could be retained or dismissed at the whim of the congregation. This practice would obviously have proved a serious curb to a minister's freedom of conscience, and Schlatter determined to make his own case a test.

His first step was to request a committee of Coetus to audit his accounts of the Reiff money, and to publish their findings in Saur's newspaper. This was done, on November 16 and December 1, 1749, to Schlatter's complete exoneration. Meanwhile, however, Steiner had appointed January 14, 1750, for his introductory sermon in Philadelphia, having preached in Germantown the Sunday preceding. Saur's paper for January 10 reported that Schlatter had attempted to preach a farewell sermon, on Matthew 23:37-39, but broke down with emotion and was unable to do so. If this be true, he had changed his mind by the 14th, for early in the morning he and his adherents arrived at the church, accompanied by civil officers to preserve order. Thus protected, Schlatter was allowed to conduct the service without interruption.

Two weeks later Steiner reversed the process and began to preach before Schlatter's arrival. When the latter commanded him, in the name of God, to come down from the pulpit, a near-riot ensued, which resulted in the closing of the church. A committee of arbitration was then appointed, composed of five Quakers and an Episcopalian, agreed to by both factions. This committee decided in favor of Schlatter, and Steiner with his 170 adherents withdrew to attempt the formation of an independent church.

Although Schlatter was thus justified, and although for the following

two years he practically ceased his visitations and devoted himself exclusively to his congregation, the bitterness engendered by the feud continued. He was further distressed by the increasing need for ministers for the rapidly growing churches of the interior; by the poverty of these churches; and, above all, by the desperate need for schools. "If there are no schools," he wrote (*Appeal*, p. 218), "provided with qualified schoolmasters, of which there are here almost none, or very few, will not the children who are not instructed in reading and writing in two or three generations become like the pagan aborigines?"

Many of the Coetal letters to Holland had been lost in transmission. This had led to misunderstanding and irritation on the part of the Dutch fathers. All things considered, it seemed to the Coetus of December 13, 1750, the part of wisdom to send Schlatter back to Europe to present their troubles in person. He could combine this duty with a tour to secure needed funds and to enlist young ministers for the Pennsylvania field. Accordingly, on February 5, 1751, he sailed from New Castle, Delaware, armed with a passport from James Hamilton, Governor of Pennsylvania, and letters of testimonial from the Coetus, its individual members, and other persons of authority.

After enduring the midwinter crossing, a most dangerous and unusual hazard for those days, he landed safely at Dartmouth on March 11. After a month in England he crossed to Holland, reaching Amsterdam in time for a meeting of the Classis on May 3. Here he was received enthusiastically, and his papers and journals were studied with attention. Charges made against him by Mr. Steiner had, as he feared, reached Holland, and the Coetal letters refuting them had gone astray. It was well, therefore, that his testimonials dealt in detail with this question, for they led to his complete exculpation. It was decided that the more entertaining portions of his journal, together with an appeal for aid, should be published for distribution to the Holland Deputies before their meeting in August. Jacob Loveringh, an Amsterdam bookseller and member of the Classis, undertook to print the pamphlet at his own expense, and most of the summer was spent in its preparation. The result was the *Getrouw Verhaal, or True History of the Real Condition of the Destitute Congregations of Pennsylvania*.

At the Synod of North Holland held at Edam in August, both the pamphlet and the verbal report of the young missionary were favorably received. A committee, appointed to consider the matter, reported before the close of the session, with urgent recommendations that he be assisted. One of their suggestions was that Do. Schlatter should personally tour Germany and Switzerland, to inspire young workers for the provincial field. Postponing reluctantly his hope for a speedy return to America,

the young man accordingly set out on this further journey. After a visit with the influential Dr. Freseni, in Frankfort, he toured the Palatinate and Switzerland for four months, returning to Frankfort in February 1752. Here with the help and advice of Dr. Freseni he published the German edition of his pamphlet, which Freseni also reprinted in his *Pastoral Sammlungen*, a serial publication of wide circulation. Meanwhile the Rev. David Thomson, minister of an English church in Amsterdam, had caught the general enthusiasm and was preparing an English translation for circulation among the churches of Great Britain.

In March, 1752, the Swiss editor Ziegler published in his *Monatliche Nachrichten* the following news item: "Rev. Michael Schlatter has returned from Frankfort to Amsterdam with his cousin Christopher. As appears from a letter of Rev. Hoemaker, he has through Rev. Prof. Arnoldi, of Herborn, gathered six young candidates, who are to be examined in Holland, and there dedicated to the service of the Pennsylvania churches." The May number of the same journal continued the story: "Rev. Michael Schlatter actually sailed from Holland for Pennsylvania in March. Of the six candidates whom he secured in the Nassau district, one went back, yielding to the earnest entreaties of his mother. His place, however, has been filled by another from the Berg district, who, with his wife, has undertaken the journey. These candidates were all examined and ordained at the Hague. . . . This undertaking, reckoning the traveling expenses of Rev. Schlatter, has cost about four thousand florins."

With his six neophytes, their families and possessions, and a cargo of seven hundred German Bibles presented by individual members of the Amsterdam churches, Michael Schlatter arrived in New York, July 28, 1752, where he was met by H. M. Muhlenberg, who wrote:

"At six o'clock in the morning, the Reformed Pastor Schlatter came to my house and embraced me in keeping with our old unfeigned friendship and love. He had arrived safely during the night, on a ship from Holland, and brought six recently ordained preachers with him for Pennsylvania. . . . I asked Mr. Schlatter whether I must henceforth address him by using the title, 'Inspector.' He replied: "No, I have not sought honor for myself, but for God, and am interested in the welfare of the forsaken congregations.' . . . In the evening I was summoned to the place where the six newly arrived Reformed preachers were staying. I went and welcomed them with the words: 'Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: Be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves'."

These young men were: Philip William Otterbein, John Jacob Wissler, John Waldschmidt, Theodore Frankenfeld, William Stoy, and John Caspar Rubel.

The last named was the candidate from Berg who had substituted for the boy whose mother would not let him go. In the next few years Schlatter was to have ample reason to wish that the exchange had never been made. Already during the crossing Rubel and Schlatter had quarreled violently, and in Philadelphia Rubel withdrew from the society of his fellow travellers, refused to accept the charge assigned him by the Coetus, and, shortly finding out Schlatter's enemies in the Philadelphia congregation, succeeded in having himself elected its pastor. The old situation of the Steiner-Schlatter feud was immediately reproduced. The difference lay in the fact that, although Rubel's conduct was even worse than Steiner's had been, in this case Schlatter was legally in the wrong. Before leaving for Europe he had given a written promise to the consistory that he would not force himself on the congregation but would submit to the results of a free election.

This, however, he found himself quite unable to do. The feud was fought out even more bitterly than the earlier one, splitting the congregation, and temporarily splitting the Coetus. It ended only when, in 1854, the Synod dismissed Do. Rubel to New York, after the connection between Schlatter and the Coetus had been finally dissolved.

This unexpected event occurred as follows. Mr. Thomson's English translation of Schlatter's *Appeal* had brought forth fruit in unexpected proportions. Mr. Thomson himself had gone to England to collect funds, and English readers of the little tract, deeply moved, had responded generously. The King himself contributed £1,000, and the Church of Scotland took up a special collection amounting to £1,140. There is no accurate record of the total subscribed, and Muhlenberg's estimate of £20,000, is believed to be exaggerated. The "Charity School Fund," however, was certainly of respectable proportions and needed an able administrator. A "Society for the Promotion of the Knowledge of God among the Germans" was therefore formed, and its directors decided to place the distribution of its charities into the hands of Do. Schlatter, the instigator of the idea.

Schlatter had already been turning his thoughts more and more to the problem of education. In 1752 he published at his own expense an ABC book, and in 1753 a child's catechism for use in the German schools. In the late summer of 1753 a letter from Holland sharply rebuked Schlatter for his mismanagement of the Rubel case. Upon this, as the Coetal letter of that year reported:

"Do. Schlatter, by virtue of the letter addressed to him in the spring by your Reverences . . . requested his dismissal from our Coetus, in order to be relieved from service in this country. It is not very difficult for us to predict what will be the consequences of Brother Schlatter's

ter's dismissal and departure. Yet we cannot compel him to struggle any longer among us in a work which is rewarded with ingratitude." The report continued with a sincere and unsolicited testimony in Schlatter's behalf, and Schlatter himself followed the letter to Holland, to plead in his own defense. Braving the winter crossing a second time, he landed in Holland in March, 1754. None of the triumph of his earlier return awaited him this time. The Fathers received him coldly, holding him responsible for the split in the Coetus and the consequent lack of Christian harmony in Pennsylvania. They confirmed his dismissal from the Coetus, and gave him permission to accept the office of Superintendent of Schools offered him by the English society.

His return to Pennsylvania in October, 1754, was welcomed with joy by his friends in the Coetus, who for a while persuaded him to attend their meetings and even contemplated a project to name him official visitor of the churches. This was brought to an end by a sharp letter from Holland in October, 1755, which ordered them to dissolve all connection between themselves and Michael Schlatter. Thus ended the relationship of Coetus with its original founder.

Schlatter now confined himself to his duties with the charity schools. From the first, however, this work seemed doomed to failure. In his sincere desire to serve the needs of the Germans, Mr. Thomson had done them the grave disservice of making the English think of them as totally illiterate savages. Nothing at all was said of the schools already founded by nearly all Reformed, Lutheran, and Moravian churches; nothing of the German presses already in use, of the flourishing German newspapers and almanacs, nor of the cultured leaders already at work among their people. The intentions of the Society, then, were not to aid the institutions already in existence, but to start anew as if nothing at all had been done. This was not only wasteful but insulting, and the Germans resisted the movement as impertinent charity, suspecting a purely political intention of Anglicizing their children and eventually establishing the Church of England.

For a few years Schlatter attempted, with great sincerity, to carry out the intentions of his employers. He actually established seven schools in the first five months of his efforts, and kept some of them going for over a year. He was saddened, however, by the opposition, and seemed, somehow, to have lost his first eager energy and initiative. At the end of 1756 he resigned.

In contrast to the fullness of his first ten years in America, the last thirty-four years of his life can be told in a few paragraphs. In 1757 he enlisted as chaplain in the Royal American Infantry. He was present at the Siege of Louisburg, and probably accompanied Bouquet at Pitts-

burgh. He was still, nominally, a chaplain in the British army when the Revolution began, but with his usual independence of conscience he supported the colonial cause and refused to obey orders when the British invaded Philadelphia. In retaliation he was imprisoned, and his house "Sweetland," at Chestnut Hill, was sacked by British troopers. These, in an apparent spirit of malicious mischief, destroyed much of his personal property and burned a large pile of his papers, including, probably, the complete *Journal*, of which the published extracts give so tempting a sample. The well-known portrait of himself was dramatically saved by his daughter Rachel, who snatched it from the hands of a trooper and ran away with it. Two of his sons served in the American army and later died as a result of their experiences.

Aside from these lively episodes Schlatter's later life was spent in quiet retirement on his farm. He preached now and then, and performed a great many marriages, but never resumed the active duties of the ministry. Impoverished by the loss of "Sweetland," he took a smaller farm, also at Chestnut Hill, to which he gave the same name, and there ended his days. He died October 31, 1790, and was buried in the Reformed burial ground in Philadelphia, now Franklin Square. Five daughters and one son survived him, three other sons having died.

Schlatter thought of himself as a failure, but the churches to which he brought order and encouragement still revere his memory. He wrote of himself, in 1752:

"I often wished . . . that a work of such importance had fallen into more competent hands; yet since I know that the ways of God in His sanctuary are unsearchable, and that He often accomplishes great ends by the smallest and most inadequate means, that it may be made manifest that the excellency of the power is of God and not of men, I cheerfully submitted myself to His will, and sought help from Him who giveth vigor to the weary and power to him that hath no strength, relying upon the promise that those who hope and trust in the Lord shall never be made ashamed."

JOHN DOMINICUS CAROLUS BARTHOLOMAE

1723-1768

John Dominicus Carolus Bartholomae (to give him his full baptismal name) was born of Catholic parents at Heidelberg in the Palatinate and was baptized there on December 13, 1723. His father was John Adam Bartholomae. Nothing is known of his boyhood.

On January 15, 1743, he matriculated in the University of Heidelberg. He studied also at Franeker, in Holland, and perhaps that was where he was converted to the Reformed faith. At least he placed himself under the auspices of the Classis of Franeker, which licensed him on September 4, 1747. He appeared before the Deputies of the synods on October 9, 1747, provided with excellent testimonials from the professors at the University of Franeker and a letter of recommendation from the Rev. Dr. Kulenkamp, of Amsterdam. He was ordained and commissioned for Pennsylvania by the Deputies, with another candidate, John Jacob Hochreutiner, on November 15, 1747. The two newly-ordained ministers went to America by way of London, where they were kindly received by the Dutch and German Reformed ministers, who took up a collection for them, amounting to ninety guineas. The two travelers reached Philadelphia on August 13, 1748, where they were welcomed by Mr. Schlatter. He writes in his diary:

"On the 13th the two ministers sent from Holland, the Rev. Bartholomaeus¹ and John Jacob Hochreutiner, safely arrived and were received by me with joyful gratitude to God, and entertained at my house. The letters which they brought from the Christian synods, from the Christian Classis of Amsterdam, and from the Reverends Hutmacher and Kulenkamp were very encouraging and refreshing to me."

In order to find out which of the vacant congregations needed them most and desired their services, Schlatter took the new ministers on a trial tour to the vacant congregations. On September 2, 1748, he went with Mr. Bartholomae to Lancaster, where on the 4th the latter preached "to the satisfaction of all." On the 5th and 6th they went to Whiteoaks, and from there to Tulpehocken, where Bartholomae preached on the 7th. Then they continued their journey to Oley and Falkner Swamp, where Bartholomae preached on the 8th. By that time the young man, having already traveled 138 miles, was so exhausted that he had to stay at Falkner Swamp to rest a while. But he promised to be in Philadelphia the following Sunday and to conduct services for Schlatter at Philadelphia and Germantown, Schlatter continued without rest his return to Philadelphia.

The meeting of the Coetus was held at Philadelphia on September 28th, 1748, and following days, at which the newly arrived ministers, Bartholomae, Hochreutiner, and Philip Leydich, were sent to their respective fields of labor: Leydich to Falkner Swamp; Hochreutiner to Lancaster; and Bartholomae to Tulpehocken, where he was installed by the Rev. John Philip Boehm on October 16, 1748.

¹ Schlatter used the Latinized form of the name, but there can be no question that the real name was Bartholomae, as shown by the records at Heidelberg and by his own signature in his letters. The Latin form was used only on state occasions.

Mr. Bartholomae began his entries in the Trinity Tulpehocken record on October 21, 1748, when he baptized his own son, John Adam. From that date to April 8, 1751, he entered 34 baptisms. Six burials were entered by him in 1749, and fifteen young people were confirmed on May 15, 1749. He also entered, in a second volume, 46 members, probably in 1749.

A letter of Mr. Bartholomae, dated December 21, 1748, to Mr. Schaffner, one of the elders at Lancaster, is still in existence (in the Harbaugh Collection) in which he offers his services to the Lancaster congregation for four Sundays in the year 1749: April 2, June 4, September 3, and November 5. The Lancaster record shows that his offer was accepted, for on April 2, 1749, he baptized four children, and on June 4th two children. But no later entries by Bartholomae are found in the Lancaster record.

Bartholomae was present at the meeting of Coetus in 1748. But at the meeting on October 20, 1749, he was absent, because of indisposition. In 1750 he was again absent, because of "the precarious state of his health."² The truth was that he was gradually losing his mind. In 1750 he wrote to Conrad Weiser, asking his help in regaining the use of the parsonage for himself, his wife, and child, and also that at least a part of his salary be paid to him. The intervention of Weiser seems to have been successful, for Christopher Saur, the Germantown printer, published on November 1, 1751, an article according to which the congregation was continuing to pay his salary. But at that time he was definitely insane, as he had threatened his wife with a knife and as a result was confined in a hospital in Philadelphia. A sermon which he published, containing violent attacks on other religions, did not improve matters.

In October, 1752, Coetus resolved to return him to his home in the Palatinate in the hope that he might there perhaps regain his health. But it was impossible to raise the necessary money, although certain members of the Coetus offered to contribute to such a fund. In 1753 Bartholomae was in a Philadelphia hospital and Coetus was obliged to pay £35 for his maintenance. A slightly varying sum was annually contributed by Coetus for his support until his death, July 28, 1768. (*Minutes*, 276).

² See Schlatter's *Diary*, in Harbaugh, *Life of Schlatter*, 195.

JOHN JACOB HOCHREUTINER

1721-1748

John Jacob Hochreutiner was born at St. Gall, Switzerland, April 27, 1721. His father was the Rev. John Jacob Hochreutiner, Sr., and his mother, Esther, nee Schirmer. They had six children, of whom John Jacob was the youngest. The father was since 1699 pastor of St. Leonard church in St. Gall and since 1729 Rector of the Latin School. He died November 20, 1746.

John Jacob, Jr., studied under his father and under Professor Bartholomew Wegelin. On December 16, 1743, he was examined for licensure and received into the ministry. One of his fellow-students, J. J. Scherer, has left the following estimate of Hochreutiner: "One of these [candidates] was J. J. Hochreutiner, a young man of the best of hearts, of irreproachable conduct, and of persevering diligence, but of weak mental ability, who knew his weakness and therefore soon after his examination concluded to seek his fortune in another part of the world." On May 18, 1747, he left for Berbice, in British Guiana, South America, to serve there as private tutor to the son of a Swiss settler. On the way he stopped in London and there he changed his mind and all his plans for the future. Instead of going to South America, he returned to Holland and presented himself before the Deputies of the Synods of South and North Holland, at their session of September 15-22, 1747, with testimonials from St. Gall and a recommendation from the Rev. Gerard Kulenkamp, pastor in Amsterdam. He told them that he was well acquainted with Mr. Schlatter, his fellow-townsmen. The Deputies examined him on October 9, 1747, and ordained him, together with Candidate Dominicus Bartholomaeus, on November 15, 1747. They left together for America by way of London. There they were compelled to stay during the winter, as all navigation was suspended during the winter. The Dutch and German Reformed ministers came to their rescue and took up a collection for them, which netted 90 guineas. They left England in the spring of 1748.

In July, 1748, Schlatter received word from the Dutch Reformed ministers in New York, that the Deputies had sent over to them two new ministers, Bartholomaeus and Hochreutiner. On August 13th they arrived in Schlatter's house in Philadelphia, who welcomed them with great joy. He took them at once on a strenuous missionary tour. He sent Hochreutiner to Lancaster on October 8th, promising to meet him on October 10th in Lancaster, where Hochreutiner agreed to preach a preparatory sermon to the Lord's Supper, which was celebrated on October 11th, with much success, 150 communicants being present. In the after-

noon Hochreutiner preached a thanksgiving sermon "to the great delight of the congregation." On the way home, they passed by way of Tulpehocken and Oley. Hochreutiner preached at both places. On the 14th he preached at Falkner Swamp. Then, because he was very tired, he remained there to rest up, so as to be able to preach on October 18th at Providence, while Schlatter, without resting, returned at once to Philadelphia, after having traveled 173 miles on horseback.

When the Coetus convened at Philadelphia, September 28th to October 5, 1748, calls were presented to the new ministers and accordingly they were sent to the congregations which had called them: Hochreutiner to Lancaster, Bartholomae to Tulpehocken, and Leydich to Falkner Swamp. Mr. Rieger was designated to install Hochreutiner; Mr. Boehm, Bartholomae and Leydich, because he had been up to that time the pastor of these congregations.

However, a sudden and overwhelming tragedy changed all plans for Hochreutiner. On November 14th, while Schlatter was away from home, Mr. Hochreutiner was in his room at Schlatter's, booted and spurred and ready to ride to Lancaster. "A gun which, when he was yet on the ship, he had loaded with a ball, which he now attempted to extract, without having the necessary means to accomplish it, exploded in his hand, and pierced his body,¹ so that he lay dead in my room, when my wife and a maid-servant came in to inform him that the elder with a horse was ready at the door to take him away. The amazement and sorrow of the congregations, and especially in Lancaster, occasioned by this accident was so much the greater on account of the great love which all bore to him and the expectations which his own congregation and others entertained of the services of such an excellent servant of Christ."

A written sermon, which Hochreutiner had intended to preach at Lancaster, and which was found in his pocket, was edited with an introduction by Schlatter. Its title may be rendered into English as follows: "Swan Song or the last labor of the late very reverend and learned Mr. John Jacob Hochreutiner, designated preacher of the honorable Reformed congregation at Lancaster, who in an extraordinary manner, through God's all-wise providence, was removed by a gun-shot from this temporal to the eternal life on October 14, 1748, in the 27th year of his life. For the consolation of the saddened congregation at Lancaster, issued in print and provided with an introduction by Michael Slatte, V.D.M., of St. Gall in Switzerland, and at present pastor in Philadelphia and Germantown in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, printed by John

¹ C. Saur, in his newspaper, *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, adds that "the bullet went through his left breast and lodged behind his shoulder blade, next to his skin."

Boehm, in Arch Street, 1748."² It was translated and published in English, under the title "Swan Song," by Prof. Joseph H. Dubbs, in the *Reformed Quarterly Review*, July, 1886. The subject of the sermon was "The Divine Call of Samuel."

Hochreutiner was buried in the Reformed cemetery at Philadelphia, now Franklin Square, on October 14th, 1748, the Rev. Michael Schlatter officiating.

JOHN PHILIP LEYDICH

1715-1784

Nothing was known about the antecedents of John Philip Leydich until the archives of Holland became accessible to American historians. Then it was found that the minutes of the South Holland Synod, held July 9-19, 1748, at Brielle, contained the following information about him:

"At this opportunity Do. (Domine) Pielat (clerk of Synod) informed the Synod, that outside the assembly stood a certain preacher, named John Philip Leydich, of Girkhausen, who has volunteered to go to Pennsylvania, in the service of this Body, to take charge of any congregation in that province. He desires that the Reverend Deputies would commission him for that purpose and provide him with the necessary traveling expenses.

"His Testimonials were examined. It was found that he had severed his connection with his previous congregation in a regular way. He was also found free from Moravian errors. A collection was ordered to be taken, which resulted in the sum of 115 *fl.* and 15 *stuivers* (1 florin = 40 cents) which were handed to him. The president of Synod addressed him in the Latin language, encouraging him faithfully to perform his duties and wishing him every blessing to attend his labors." (*Minutes* X, 89).

This entry fixes his birthplace as Girkhausen, a little mountain village of about 700 inhabitants, four miles north of Berleburg, in 1748 part of the County of Wittgenstein but at present in the province of Westphalia.

² The German title reads, in part: *Schwanen Gesang oder letzte Arbeit des weiland Ehrwürdigen und Hochgelehrten Herrn Johann Jacob Hochreutiner bestimmten Prediger der Ehrsamten Reformirten Gemeinde zu Lancaster, welcher auf eine ausserordentliche Weise nach Gottes allweiser Zulassung durch einen Büchsen-Schuss aus dem zeitlichen in das ewige Leben den 14. October 1748, im 27. Jahr seines Alters hingerücket wurde. Zum Trost der betrübten Gemeinde in Lancaster zu dem Druck befördert und mit einer Zuschrift versehen von Michael Slatter. A copy of this booklet is found in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia.*

A village chronicle of Girkhausen states that his father, the Rev. Leonard Leydich, was pastor of Girkhausen from 1707 to 1739, and that his son, John Philip, was his assistant till he left for Pennsylvania (Dotterer, *Historical Notes*, 51.)

Unfortunately the church records of Girkhausen make no reference to the children of Leonard Leydich, but we know from his tombstone inscription that John Philip was born on April 28, 1715, undoubtedly at Girkhausen. His father, Leonard Leydich, was a university-trained man, having matriculated at Marburg University on April 9, 1702, but we have not yet found where his son, John Philip, studied theology.

John Philip Leydich was married, about 1743, to Maria Catharine Homrighausen. A letter from her brother, Sebastian Homrighausen, to his brother-in-law, on May 31, 1773, from Diedenhausen is still in existence.¹ That may have been the home of his wife. It is a village near Berleburg.

Leydich must have left Holland shortly after the meeting of the Synod of South Holland, for on September 15th, 1748, Michael Schlatter noted in his diary:

"On the 15th, to my exceeding great joy, there came to my home, healthy and happy, the Rev. John Philip Leydich, with his wife and two children, having been sent by the Christian Synod of South Holland." Shortly afterwards, on September 19, Mr. John Philip Boehm visited Schlatter and asked that, in view of his increasing feebleness, Mr. Leydich be sent to Falkner Swamp and Providence to serve in that field.

When the Coetus of the Reformed ministers of Pennsylvania met in the new, six-cornered, church in Philadelphia, on September 28th, Mr. Leydich opened the meeting with a sermon from Ephes. 6:23, 24. The new ministers were sent to the following places: Do. Hochreutiner to Lancaster, Do. Bartholomae to Tulpehocken, and Do. Leydich to Falkner Swamp and Providence (now St. Luke's at Trappe). Do. Boehm was commissioned to install Do. Leydich and Do. Bartholomae, while Do. Schlatter agreed to install Do. Hochreutiner at Lancaster. This commission was carried out by Mr. Boehm on October 16th, at Falkner Swamp and on October 23rd at Tulpehocken.

Mr. Dotterer tells a touching story, handed down by tradition, that when Leydich and his family traveled for the first time to their new home, over a very stony road, the vehicle was jolted so violently that the young wife, accustomed to the comforts of travel in the old world, burst into tears and implored her husband to give up his purpose of settling in such a wild place, and to return with them to Germany, Leydich replied: "O mother, is not this the 'Promised Land'?" (*Historical Notes*, 3.)

¹ Printed in Dotterer, *Historical Notes*, 117-120.

Leydich opened the first church record at Falkner Swamp on December 11, 1748, with a Latin inscription, which may be rendered into English as follows: "Church Record at Falkner Schwam of baptisms, confirmations, marriages and burials, by me, Johann Philip Leydich, beginning in the year 1748. The date of my call is September 29, 1748." His first marriage entry is dated Nov. 9, 1748, his first baptismal entry, December 11, 1748. He entered, all told, from November 1748 to September 1763, 242 baptisms, 25 marriages, 11 burials, 100 confirmations. This implies, most likely, that his entries are incomplete.

On October 16, 1749, in order to secure a roof over his head, he bought, with the help of some of his friends, 105 acres of land in Frederick Township, on the banks of Swamp Creek. This became his family home.

On November 27, 1749, Leydich wrote a friendly letter to Mr. Schlatter, in which he acknowledged the receipt of £15, or about 40 dollars. They were most likely sent to him by the Synods.

During the first years of his stay in Pennsylvania, Leydich passed through severe and trying experiences. On March 2, 1750, he wrote a letter to the Synods of South and North Holland, in which he set forth his pitiful condition. He had arrived in Pennsylvania, he informed the synods, about November, 1748, with his wife and three children. He was kindly received by Schlatter and assigned by the Coetus to Falkner Swamp and Providence. He had accepted the call without any definite agreement as to his salary, for he had trusted the report that it was to be £60, Pennsylvania currency (about \$160), and that Mr. Schlatter would guarantee its payment. But, at the end of the first year, when he spoke to his consistory about it, they admitted that it should be £60, but added that they themselves had promised only £30, and as to the rest Do. Schlatter had assured them that it would be taken from the gifts from Holland. Schlatter at first failed to acknowledge such a promise (Leydich wrote), but when convinced by his own consistory that it had been given stated that he had received different instructions from Holland, which made the fulfillment of his promise impossible. Hence, being unable to live on the slender sum of money actually received and running into debt, Leydich appealed to the synods for relief.

Another letter, by the consistory of the Falkner Swamp Church, dated June 6, 1750, was laid before the Synods, in which they supported the plea for assistance, and stated that they were much pleased with their new minister and wished to retain him, for under his ministry the church was growing, and that they would soon be able to support him fully.

When Mr. Schlatter made his well-known trip to Europe, from February 1751 to August 1752, to secure more ministers and more support from Holland, Messrs. Leydich, Lischy, and Weiss agreed to supply

his churches, Philadelphia and Amwell, N. J. During this period a lively correspondence took place between Leydich and Lischy, of which four letters of Leydich have survived. They throw welcome light on the conditions then prevailing.

In January, 1752, Leydich informed Lischy that three copies of Schlatter's appeal to the Holland churches (*A true Account of the real condition of the destitute congregations in Pennsylvania, . . . Amsterdam, 1751*)² had been sent over from Holland, one of which was intended for the ministers of the Coetus of Pennsylvania. From it they learned of the success of Schlatter's mission to Europe. As a result, Leydich suggested that the Reformed ministers of Pennsylvania reply with a printed circular letter, by which the churches in Pennsylvania would be cheered in their work, and that the Fathers in Holland be thanked for their generous assistance.

In his next letter, of February 2, 1752, Leydich expressed his pleasure over the fact that Lischy agreed with him that such a letter should be published, and he suggested that, in view of Lischy's well-known ability to wield the pen, Lischy compose the letter, and that all three of them—Lischy, Leydich, and Weiss—should have a conference about it in Philadelphia.

On March 1, 1752, Weiss, Leydich, and Lischy published a notice in Saur's Germantown newspaper *Pennsylvanisch Berichte*, informing the public that the united ministers of Holland had agreed upon a plan to give substantial aid to the Reformed churches and schools in Pennsylvania.

When the completed pamphlet had come off the press of H. Mueller and S. Holland, in Lancaster, in May, 1752, Leydich sent several copies to the Deputies of the Synods, accompanied by a letter of his own, dated May 16, 1752. The *Circular Letter of the United Reformed Ministers in Pennsylvania* was a small quarto of 11 pages.³

To a letter of Lischy, announcing that the *Circular Letter* had been well received in York county and neighborhood, Leydich replied, on May 27, 1752, that he was unable to report a similar result from Philadelphia and neighborhood. He also stated that, according to a letter recently received by his family, Schlatter could not be expected back for some time, as in March he had made a trip to Switzerland; hence they would have to continue their supply of Schlatter's churches, which Leydich found to be a great hardship. He was eagerly awaiting the return of Schlatter, because he hoped that he would be relieved, at least to some extent, in his poverty and thereby find a means to prevent his physical breakdown. He

² For a reproduction of the title-page see Dubbs, *Reformed Church*, p. 161.

³ For a reproduction of the title-page see Dubbs, *Reformed Church*, p. 165.

was deep in debt, with nine pounds of interest due, and did not know where to get them.

The last letter in this correspondence is dated September 2, 1752. It was written after Schlatter had returned to Pennsylvania with six new ministers, to fill the many vacancies in the churches. Leydich, Weiss, and Lischy had each received 50 *fl.* for supplying Schlatter's congregations; but Leydich complained that he had not been materially relieved in his poverty.

It was not until the spring of 1753, when the first subsidies from Holland were actually received, that the financial situation of Leydich improved. From April, 1753, to June, 1762, he received a total of £281 11s. + 50 *fl.*, or \$767.74.

Financial difficulties were not the only troubles that worried Mr. Leydich. He was also involved in a quarrel with Mr. Schlatter. The minutes of the Coetus held October 9-10, 1753, give the following information:

"Regarding Do. Leydich. Ever since he came to this country he has gone into the congregations in New Jersey, . . . which were at that time served by Do. Schlatter, and, unknown to Schlatter, administered the Holy Sacraments. And because Do. Schlatter rebuked this irregularity, submitting that it was not fraternal to take away the small remuneration which had hitherto come to him from the congregations, Do. Leydich was so much offended by it that since that time he has told some of us that he had taken a just dislike to Do. Schlatter."

The situation was aggravated when, in 1752, quarrels arose in the Coetus itself about the question whether elders should have the right to vote at the meetings of the Coetus. These quarrels became so intense that they actually divided the Coetus into two factions, one headed by Schlatter, the other by Weiss. Leydich followed the leadership of Weiss, who was strongly supported by the elders.

In October, 1752, Weiss and Leydich left the meeting of the Coetus at Lancaster, as a protest against its actions. On October 29 Weiss and Leydich wrote a personal letter to a Synodical Deputy, in which they related their experience at the Coetus and tried to justify their action. A similar letter, filled with complaints about Schlatter, was written on December 12, 1752.

The climax of the trouble was reached in October, 1753, when a rival Coetus was held by Weiss, Leydich, and other discontented, at Cocalico, which aimed to take the control of Coetus out of the hands of Schlatter and his followers. In that they failed utterly, because the Fathers in Holland refused to recognize the rebels and any of their acts. They even threatened to deprive them of a share in the Holland subsidies. As a result, the opposition collapsed and they humbly returned to the juris-

diction of the Coetus and expressed their submission to the Synods of Holland by subscribing the minutes of the 1754 Coetus, from which they had absented themselves. Conditions improved still more when Schlatter, the stormy petrel, withdrew from the Coetus in 1755.

However, during the early years of his ministry, the whole horizon was not clouded for Mr. Leydich. There were, as a compensation, some bright spots. He himself occupied a leading position in the Coetus. He was three times its President; in 1751, during the absence of Schlatter in Holland; in 1757, after he had recovered from a severe sickness; and in 1760, when Coetus met in his church at Falkner Swamp. He was secretary of the Coetus three times: in 1750, 1756, and 1768. In 1760, when president, he performed also the strenuous duty of visitor of the churches. In 1755 he was assessor, an office whose duties are not defined. He preached the opening sermons before the Coetus of 1748 and 1749.

Mr. Leydich did not always enjoy the best of health. As already noted, he passed through a "severe sickness" in 1757. In 1765, we are informed that, "on account of feebleness of mind and body," he was no longer able to serve Falkner Swamp and Vincent, across the Schuylkill. Hence a successor, Rev. Nicholas Pomp, took his place in these churches. He is reported as ill also in 1771 and 1772, in 1775 and 1776, when his "infirmity of age" is referred to. He was also absent from the meetings of Coetus in 1779 and 1781, but in 1782 and 1783 was again present.

The *pastoral and missionary activity* of Leydich expanded in course of time, in spite of his physical handicaps.

When he entered upon his work in 1748, he had two congregations, Falkner Swamp and Providence. We have already referred to his activity at Falkner Swamp, from which he was compelled to retire in 1765 because of the feebleness of his health.

At Providence, now St. Luke's at Trappe, Providence Township, Montgomery County, Leydich entered 59 baptisms into the record, extending from 1760 to 1783—a small number of entries. In 1753 Providence had asked Coetus that Leydich supply the congregation every two weeks, instead of once every four weeks, as he had done up to that time. Coetus decided that the congregation should be supplied in turn by Leydich and Steiner, the latter being pastor at Germantown.

The same arrangement was to apply to the congregation across the Schuylkill, now East Vincent, in Chester County. This is the first time that (East) Vincent appears on the records of the Coetus, although it is likely that it was in existence for some years prior to 1753. Baptisms in the church record go back to 1741. The joint pastorate of Leydich and Steiner at these two places probably came to an end in 1756, when Steiner was called to Frederick, Md. During the fall of 1757 and the spring of

1758 a church was built, which was dedicated on May 27, 1758. On the same date Leydich opened the church record. In the same year, on March 8, Schlatter gave to the congregation one of the 500 Bibles, printed at Basle in 1747 by John Ludwig Brandmueller, which Schlatter had brought along from Holland. Leydich reported 30 families in the Vincent congregation in 1765; at Providence there were 24. As already stated, because of sickness he was compelled to give up Falkner Swamp and Vincent in 1765.

When Leydich recovered his health in 1766, he is reported as serving Providence, Upper Milford, and a church across the Schuylkill, which we can identify by its church record as Coventry, or Brownback's, Coventry Township, Chester County. Leydich's entries in the Coventry record (now lost) began on March 19, 1766. They extend to 1783, a total of 183 baptisms.

At Upper Milford, now at Zionsville, Lehigh County, a series of baptisms begins in the church record on August 22, 1765. They are not in Leydich's handwriting, but may have been performed by him and entered by the schoolmaster, Peter Lang. This is probable, in view of the fact that Leydich is reported as preaching at Upper Milford in 1766 (*Coetus Minutes*, 249). His handwriting actually begins on March 4, 1769, and runs from that date to October 20, 1771. In October, 1771, Leydich by letter asked Coetus to relieve him from further preaching at "Upper Milford and Saltzburg," because, as he stated, "the congregations were at a great distance from him, and it was very burdensome to him, on account of his age, to serve them."

This is the first reference to Salisbury, now Jerusalem Church, Western Salisbury Township, Lehigh County. It is likely that Leydich served Salisbury during the period in which he was active at Upper Milford, namely, from 1766 to 1771. The only Salisbury record that has survived begins in 1783. But there are recorded in it baptisms dated before October, 1771; these may have been performed by Leydich, and actually entered at a later time. We know that his ministry at Salisbury ended in October, 1771.

The seventh congregation served by Leydich was Pottstown. It appears for the first time as one of his congregations in 1769. Unfortunately the old church record at Pottstown has been lost. The surviving record was begun by Rev. L. Frederick Herman in 1801. But Herman collected from various sources 49 earlier baptisms, which extend from March, 1770, to September, 1783. These baptisms must have been performed by Leydich, because the Coetus minutes report him as pastor at Pottstown from 1769 to 1783.

The summary of Leydich's pastorates is as follows:

(1) Falkner Swamp, 1748–1765; (2) Providence, or Trappe, 1748–84; (3) East Vincent, 1753–1765; (4) Coventry, or Brownback's, 1766–84; (5) Upper Milford, 1766–1771; (6) Salisbury, 1766–1771; (7) Pottstown, 1769–1784.

There was also a brief period of supply by Leydich at New Goshenhoppen, for the title-page of Volume II of the Goshenhoppen records names "Leyte" (Leydich) as one of the men who supplied the congregation in the period 1761–1766, and among the baptisms the name of Leyte appears as pastor in a baptism of the year 1763.

The statement of Dr. Harbaugh (*Fathers*, II, 26) that, through the instrumentality of Leydich, Wentz's church was built in 1762, cannot be substantiated by contemporaneous evidence, and is also inherently improbable, because the Rev. John George Alsentz was its pastor in that year. All that can be discovered is that the consistory issued an appeal for funds on September 28, 1763. It was signed by John Philip Leydich, who stated that he heartily approved of the contemplated collection and recommended it to the friends of the congregation. But so did the pastor, Mr. Alsentz, and the president of the Coetus in 1763, the Rev. Casper Michael Stapel. This appeal appears in the collection book, followed by several long lists of contributors, but Leydich's name is not among them.

There are several other incidents connected with Mr. Leydich that may be mentioned. When, in 1754, charity schools were established in a number of Reformed and Lutheran congregations, Leydich was much interested in them. He himself appeared personally before the trustees of the schools in Philadelphia and handed in petitions⁴ for the establishment of such schools at Falkner Swamp and at Providence. On February 16, 1755, Mr. Schlatter, the superintendent of the schools, opened a school at New Providence, Charles Cornelius Rabatan being its master at a salary of £25. On May 8, 1755, a school was opened in Vincent Township, John Lewis Ache, master, at £10 per annum as salary.

On September 13, 1769, Mr. Leydich purchased from George Heebner and wife Susanna four tracts of land, amounting to 175 acres, 60 perches, which after his death were taken over by his son Francis, who for them paid his widow and the other heirs, £900, Pennsylvania currency.

Philip Leydich died intestate on January 14, 1784, and was buried in a private cemetery, known as Leidig's Burial Ground, in the southwestern part of Frederick township. The epitaph on his tombstone, trans-

⁴ See Horace W. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.* (Phila. 1880) I, 79. The petitions are on pp. 80–81.

lated into English, reads as follows:

JOHN PHILIP LEYDICH
Reformed minister
was born 1715, April 28th
died Jan. 14, 1784
aged 69 years.
Suffer as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.

The last line contained a play on the words "leide dich" and his name Leydich. His wife, who died in 1801, was buried beside him. He was survived by his wife and seven children.

JOHN CONRAD STEINER

1707-1762

John Conrad Steiner was born at Winterthur, Canton of Zurich, Switzerland, on January 2, 1707. His father, Jacob Steiner, was a member of the city council at Winterthur. His mother was Ursula Sulzer. They were married April 18, 1701. They had eleven children, of whom John Conrad was the fifth. He entered the Latin School at Zurich on March 10, 1724. In 1726, when nineteen years of age, he received a license to preach. First he was vicar at Mettmenstetten, in the canton of Zurich, for two years, 1733-35; then he returned to Winterthur, where on March 7, 1735, he married Regula, nee Hegner, with whom he had thirteen children, of whom only three sons survived him.

Shortly after his marriage he was called as pastor to St. Peterzell, in the county of Toggenburg, where he labored with much success and blessing for eleven and a half years, 1736-1747. During this pastorate he published, in 1738, a series of sermons on Christ's second coming, entitled *The Midnight Cry*, which he dedicated to the Mayor and City Council of Winterthur. In 1747 he was called to the pastorate of St. George's Church in Winterthur, which was very small, and where, according to his own opinion, he could not use all the talents which God had granted to him. He, therefore, longed for a larger field of usefulness. This opportunity seemed to be offered to him in 1749, when he got in touch with the Deputies of the Synods of Holland.

On June 13, 1749, he appeared before the Deputies of the South Holland Synod, to whom he submitted a recommendation from the Deputies of North Holland as well as laudatory testimonials and a letter of dismissal from his last church in Switzerland. He asked to be sent to

Pennsylvania, to take the place of the recently deceased Do. Hochreutiner, also from Switzerland. The Deputies examined him, found him well qualified and, as a ship was ready to sail in a few days, they appointed him immediately for service in Pennsylvania. Since he had a wife and three children with him, they gave him *fl.*200 as traveling expenses.

Steiner arrived at Philadelphia in "good health" on September 25, 1749. He came at a critical time in the history of the Philadelphia congregation. There was at that time a serious dissension between this congregation and its pastor, the Rev. Michael Schlatter, whom some of his opponents were anxious to get rid of. When Steiner appeared upon the scene, Schlatter was absent, having gone to Lancaster to attend a meeting of the Coetus. Two of the Philadelphia elders met Steiner on shipboard and took him to the home of one of them, Mr. Steinmetz, where he and his family found temporary lodgings. As Schlatter was absent they asked him to preach for them on the following Sunday. They liked his sermon, informed him about their troubles, and at once made overtures to him to become their pastor.

It was the intention of Coetus, following the suggestion of the Fathers in Holland, to assign Steiner to Lancaster, where he was to become the successor of the recently deceased Do. Hochreutiner. When the news of Steiner's arrival reached Lancaster, Coetus adjourned to meet again, on October 20th, at the home of Schlatter in Philadelphia. Immediately upon his return to Philadelphia Schlatter called upon Steiner, "welcomed him in a most friendly manner," and informed him that the Lancaster congregation had authorized him to extend to him a call to become their pastor.

Then things began to happen in rapid succession. On October 1st Schlatter placed in the hands of Steiner a written call of the Lancaster congregation, which had reached him meanwhile, "properly made out and signed." This caused the Philadelphia elders to take prompt action. They sent a letter to Schlatter, giving him notice that his pastorate in their congregation would terminate after three months and that they would look around for another pastor. In answer to this notice more than eighty members of the congregation sent a letter of protest to the consistory, on October 6th, declaring that the action dismissing Schlatter had been taken without their knowledge and approval. On the same date Schlatter sent a letter to Lancaster heartily recommending Steiner to them and asking that they send a horse for Steiner, who would preach for them on October 15th. When the horse and messenger arrived, Steiner's wife and two children were sick and he sent back word that he could not leave them. When a second horse arrived for him to preach on a later Sunday, he himself was sick and unable to go.

At the meeting of Coetus, according to appointment, on October 20th, Steiner was sick in bed and unable to appear, but one of the Philadelphia elders was present and presented his credentials and letters from Holland. The Lancaster congregation petitioned Coetus to give them Steiner as their regular pastor. Coetus sent two delegates, Messrs. Weiss and Leydich, to interview Steiner and to learn his wishes. "His Reverence was heartily pleased with it and in a Christian and brotherly way affirmed and immediately expressed his willingness to be satisfied with and to approve of everything which the Reverend Coetus might resolve with regard to him." Thereupon Coetus resolved that Steiner should serve Lancaster and the vacant neighboring congregations of Muddy Creek, Earltown, and White Oaks; and, as there was a comfortable parsonage at Muddy Creek, eighteen miles from Lancaster, that he live there and from there serve his four churches once a month. Meantime Do. Rieger offered to supply Lancaster on Sundays when Steiner was absent. This arrangement, proposed by Rieger, who was president pro tem. of Coetus, was altogether unacceptable to the Lancaster congregation, which protested vigorously against it, stating that Mr. Steiner had been promised to them alone as their pastor. In fact, this action of Coetus displeased everybody. It displeased Steiner, because the original agreement with Lancaster was cancelled by it; it displeased the Lancaster congregation, because they disliked Rieger and demanded the undivided services of Steiner; and, finally, it displeased the Philadelphia congregation, because they were unwilling to continue Schlatter as their pastor, since they preferred Steiner. They, therefore, put renewed pressure on Steiner, so that, after considerable delay, he accepted their call. On November 29, 1749, he wrote a long letter to Do. Hoedmaker, one of the Deputies, in which he gave his reasons for accepting the Philadelphia call: (1) He judged that his ministry in that congregation was more necessary and would be more useful than at Lancaster; (2) Philadelphia had called him first and in spite of all opposition had adhered to the call; (3) If he had not accepted the call to Philadelphia and Germantown, those congregations would have been utterly ruined. Then he enumerated the complaints and objections which the Philadelphia congregation had against Schlatter, and he informed the Synods that with the New Year he would enter upon his ministry in these congregations.

On December 12, 1749, the consistory at Philadelphia notified Schlatter that, on account of the disturbance which he had created, they would not permit him to administer the Holy Communion in their church on Christmas Day. Schlatter replied to this notice, on the 14th, that he refused to accept their notice, because their action was unconstitutional, as he was the president of the consistory and no meeting of the consistory

could be held without his knowledge and consent. In addition, the friends of Schlatter took action. They called a congregational meeting for December 18th, at which they deposed the consistory and elected a new consistory, which was given power to act in the emergency. On December 19th they sent a notice to Steiner, forbidding him the use of the church. The old consistory answered this on January 5, 1750, by forbidding Schlatter to preach any longer in the church.

If the statements of Saur's newspaper of January 10, 1750, can be accepted as correct, Schlatter intended to preach his farewell sermon at the end of the year 1749, from Matth. 23:37-39. But he was so overcome with emotion that he was unable to preach.

On January 7, 1750, Steiner preached his installation sermon at Germantown, from Zech. 8:21. On the following Sunday, January 14th, he intended to preach his inaugural at Philadelphia, but the members of Schlatter's party had occupied the church after midnight. When the adherents of Steiner arrived, they attempted to drag the followers of Schlatter from the pulpit, but a justice of the peace appeared and declared there would be no preaching by Steiner. Instead, Schlatter was given an opportunity to preach and to install his new consistory.

On January 28, 1750, Steiner again tried to preach his installation sermon in the Philadelphia church. This time twenty-four of the Steiner men had appeared early and occupied the church. When the time for the service arrived, Steiner gave out a hymn and after it tried to preach. By that time Schlatter and his party, with four constables, had made their appearance. Schlatter ordered Steiner to come down from the pulpit, but was not obeyed. Then Schlatter stepped to the communion table, intending to speak, but the Steiner party cut him short by singing the 140th Psalm, beginning with the words, "Deliver me, O Lord, from the evil man." After that Steiner again started to preach, but the Schlatter party answered him with another hymn. Thus the two parties sang alternately for two hours. Finally, to prevent actual violence, they agreed that none should preach in the church till the controversy had been decided by a committee of arbitrators. The keys of the church were handed to Mr. Schumacher, an alderman. An agreement was signed and bonds were given to leave the decision to six arbitrators, who were appointed by Mr. Lawrence, the mayor of the city. They were: William Clymer, Hugh Roberts, Thomas Lloyd, John Mifflin, John Smith, and Abel Jones. They were all Quakers except Clymer, who was an Episcopalian. The commission took testimony for two weeks. Then, on March 10, 1750, it handed down its decision, to the effect that Schlatter was innocent of the charges brought against him. It ordered the old consistory to hand over the property of the congregation to the new consistory. It required the

Schlatter party to assume the debt resting on the church, amounting to about 850 pounds Pennsylvania currency.

Schlatter thus came out as winner in this struggle, but Steiner continued to preach in a private house to his adherents, who, according to Schlatter, were only thirty people. In striking contrast, an article, written most likely by one of the adherents of Steiner, estimates the latter's party at 170, while that of Schlatter is said to have amounted to 120. On April 6, 1750, Schlatter wrote a lengthy letter to the Synods, in which he related at length the troubles at Philadelphia and announced his complete vindication by the arbitrators. The official decision of the arbitrators, on parchment, was sent to the Synods about the same time.

Steiner kept on preaching in Philadelphia, though no longer a member of Coetus, till November 6, 1751, when he resigned and confined himself to Germantown. As his call to Germantown had been limited to one year, he preached a farewell sermon at Germantown on November 10th, intending thereafter to go to Amwell, New Jersey. But on the following Sunday, November 7, he was reelected and given a call for three years.

On November 6, 1752, the Germantown congregation wrote to the Deputies of the Synods, stating that they were in a very weak condition. They were unable to pay more than forty pounds as salary to their pastor. Hence it was necessary for him to teach the parochial school. In view of their straightened circumstances they asked that Schlatter be made to hand over to them a part of the Reiff money, which had been collected for them.

While pastor at Germantown Steiner published, in 1752, through Saur's press, a sixteen page pamphlet, entitled *Wächterstimm aus dem verwüsteten Zion in Pennsylvanien, an deren Lehrer und Wächter*.¹ It consists of a long poem, dealing with the condition of the church in Pennsylvania in a very pessimistic vein. Neither its poetry nor its thoughts rise above the commonplace.

Little is known about Steiner's pastorate in Germantown. In January, 1753, he opened the Germantown church record. The first baptism is dated January 10, 1753. He entered altogether 174 baptisms, from January, 1753, to June 8, 1756.

A most remarkable incident took place on November 15, 1753, when, in the presence of Lischy and Du Bois, Schlatter and Steiner were reconciled and Steiner promised henceforth to be subordinate to the Church of Holland. The statement of Rubel is probably correct, that Steiner consented to it in order to get financial help to pay his debts. He was recom-

¹ "Voice of the Watchman from the devastated Zion in Pennsylvania, addressed to her teachers and guardians." Germantown; Saur, 1752.

mended to the Fathers in Holland to have his membership in the Coetus restored. Coetus also united Whitpain with Germantown, so as to increase his salary. (*Minutes*, 108). In October, 1754, Steiner received £50 from the Holland donations. The Coetus minutes of June 15-17, 1756, report that Coetus considered it best to allow Do. Steiner to go to Frederick, Md. There he succeeded Do. Frankenfeld, who had died about March 1756.

Steiner appeared in Frederick about October, 1756. From October 24, 1756, to April, 1759, he entered at Frederick 192 baptisms and 55 marriages. During his pastorate there he wrote, in 1756, a constitution for the Monocacy or Frederick church, which was revised and readopted in 1767, and of which a copy is preserved in one of the early records. It was subscribed from time to time by 86 members.

There is preserved in the manuscripts at New Brunswick, N. J., (copied in the Mayer MSS. Vol. I, No. 14), an extract from Steiner's diary of the year 1757, which covers his missionary activity in Maryland and Virginia during that year:

"Winchester, Virginia, together with two other congregations, three visits, each time 150 miles; altogether 450 miles.

"The congregation at the Potomac [which is identified by Dr. Mayer with the schoolhouse in the valley of Antietam], seven visits, from April to November, 1757, each 50 miles, in all 350 miles.

"The congregation in the Mountains [probably Middletown, Frederick County, Md.], from March to December, once a month, each time 18 miles, in all 180 miles.

"The congregation in the Klet [Glade Church, Md.], from March to December, once a month, each time 16 miles, in all 160 miles.

"The congregation in Turkey, from March to December, once a month, each time 30 miles, in all 300.

"The congregation at Pipe Creek, through the summer, six visits, each 50 miles, together 300.

"The congregation at Canawaga [Christ Church, Littlestown, Pa.], seven visits, each 70 miles, in all 490.

"To these must be added the journey to the Coetus of June, 1757, being 160 miles, and a second journey in this year, as shown by the Acts of the Coetus, 300 miles. A total of 2690 miles."

This extract from his diary was sent to the Classis of Amsterdam in his letter of November, 1759.

When the subsidies from the States of Holland and West Friesland were renewed on November 30, 1756, granting to the Pennsylvania churches *fl.*2000 annually for three more years, Steiner, as clerk of the Coetus of 1757, sent a Latin letter of thanks to Peter Steyn, the Raadspen-

sionaris, or Prime Minister, of the Dutch government, dated August 25, 1757.

At the Coetus held at Philadelphia, September 14–16, 1758, Steiner was elected president, and as such signed the minutes of that year.

The year 1759 brought about a profound change in the life and activity of Steiner. On January 30, 1759, the Philadelphia congregation sent a letter to Steiner advising him that their congregation was vacant and inquiring whether he would be willing to accept a call to become their pastor. The letter was received on February 7th and answered on the 12th. Steiner informed them that he was willing to follow the guidance of God's Spirit. He advised them that, if the consistory was agreed that he should become their pastor, they should call a meeting of the congregation and submit the question of his call to the congregation, and if the congregation also agreed to it that he would then be willing to consider a call. But he was unwilling to come if by his coming the congregation would be divided. He also informed them that when he received their letter he had been on the point of visiting Philadelphia, in order to secure the release of his son from military service. Hence, they could expect a visit from him by the end of the month. The visit took place, during which he preached two sermons to the congregation. They were well received. A call was issued to him on May 1, 1759. On May 25, Steiner and his family arrived safely in Philadelphia. The congregation paid his removal expenses from Frederick to Philadelphia, which amounted to 59 pounds. His coming to Philadelphia was not greeted with delight by his brethren in the ministry. Mr. Otterbein, then at Tulpehocken, wrote on August 18, 1759, reproving him for his clandestine action, coming to Philadelphia without the knowledge of the brethren and without the approval of Coetus.

When this matter came up before Coetus, as its meeting at Goshenhoppen on October 9, 1759, there was a violent explosion, due mainly to Mr. Stoy, who had been pastor at Philadelphia from 1756 to 1758, but who was compelled to leave, largely owing to his ungovernable temper and his socially unacceptable marriage to a stocking-weaver's daughter. Stoy and Steiner had long been unfriendly neighbors. Stoy accused Steiner of having encouraged the opposition that had forced him to leave and of having secretly promoted his own election to the vacant pastorate. Steiner's return to Philadelphia aroused the jealousy and fury of Stoy, so that, when Steiner's case came before the Coetus of 1759, he became Steiner's bitterest accuser, calling him every bad name he could think of.²

² As secretary of the Coetus Stoy wrote into the minutes many pages of abuse of Steiner. The secretary was allowed great license in writing up the minutes for transmission to Holland, so that it is uncertain how much of Stoy's invective was uttered before the Coetus.

The result of it all was that both Steiner and the Philadelphia congregation were excluded from the Coetus. In reality Steiner had done nothing extraordinary. It happened again and again that ministers exchanged pulpits without notifying Coetus or getting its consent.

Steiner apparently anticipated the violent action which his return to Philadelphia might cause. Hence, on September 28, 1759, he wrote a lengthy letter to the Rev. Mr. Kulenkamp, one of the leading Classical Commissioners at Amsterdam. He gave as his reason for leaving Frederick the long and wearisome travels which he was compelled to make in that charge and which his advancing age made it impossible for him to undergo. Another letter was sent by Steiner to the Classis. He explained that the Philadelphia congregation had not consulted Coetus, inasmuch as they were calling a member of Coetus and had been informed in a former letter of Dr. Kessler to the Pennsylvanian congregations that a legitimate call of a congregation to a member of Coetus was a sufficient reason for making a change in the pastorate. Moreover, he claimed they had ample reason to act as they did in the matter of the call. He pointed to former disappointments of the congregation, caused by Coetus, and that a burnt child had reason to fear the fire.

He also complained of having been excluded from the membership of the Coetus and of being deprived of his share in the donations from Holland. But in spite of his lengthy defence, certified to by his elders regarding the truth of his statements, the Classis took the side of the Coetus and confirmed his exclusion, in a letter of May 12, 1760, addressed to the Coetus.

In spite of the adverse decision of the Fathers in Holland, Steiner continued his ministry in Philadelphia. When George II, King of Great Britain, died on October 25, 1760, Steiner preached a memorial sermon in his church on February 1, 1761: *Dutiful Memorial of love and honor to our late, most gracious and glorious King of Great Britain, George the Second.*

Steiner died at Philadelphia July 6, 1762, his age being 55 years 6 months and 6 days. His neighbor and colleague, the Lutheran pastor, Henry M. Muhlenberg, preached the funeral sermon. He writes of Steiner's last labors: "His forceful preaching, admonitions, and words of comfort, in the last three years of his ministry here in Philadelphia, can be called his 'Swan Song.' More than one worthy and truth-loving person told me repeatedly, 'The Rev. Steiner is close to eternity.'"

About the funeral, which took place on July 7, Muhlenberg writes: "There was an unbearable heat. In the house of the deceased I found a number of prominent men and ministers. At six o'clock we accompanied the body to the church. After several verses had been sung, I conducted

the service. I referred first to Ps. 63, v. 2, which Steiner had used as his text on the preceding Sunday evening. Then meditated on Acts 20:25, but I could not read his biographical sketch, as it was too dark. In conclusion I announced that a sketch of his life would be read on the following Sunday. A fine rain fell in a thunderstorm. We took the body to the cemetery, which is a fourth of a mile from the church, in a drenching rain. With the singing of a hymn the body was buried and then we went home." A series of eighteen sermons, entitled, *The glorious appearance of the Lord Jesus Christ for the general judgment of the world*,³ was published by his widow, Regula Steiner. There are two editions: one, dated 1762, without a preface by the widow; the other dated 1763, with such a preface. Both contain the biographical sketch prepared by Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg.

THEODORE FRANKENFELD

1727-1756

Theodore Frankenfeld was born at Herborn, in Nassau-Dillenburg, November 25th and was baptized December 1, 1727. He was the son of Nicholas Hubert Frankenfeld, treasurer of the city of Herborn, and Catharine Elizabeth, nee Hageman, daughter of the Rev. Daniel Hageman, pastor at Neukirch, in the principality of Nassau-Dietz. These parents had been married at Neukirch, May 31, 1719. They had seven children, of whom Theodore was the fifth.

As a boy Theodore attended the Latin School at Herborn. On April 25, 1736, he was admitted to the fifth class (the second lowest) of the school; on April 26, 1741, to the second class. From the Latin School he passed to the University of Herborn, so that when Michael Schlatter came to Herborn in 1752 he was a student in the university. In a letter dated February 17, 1752, Schlatter first introduced and described to the Deputies of the Synods the six young men whom, with the help of the faculty at Herborn, he had been able to persuade to go with him to Pennsylvania: 1. Otterbein, quiet and pious; 2. Waldschmidt, honest and sincere; 3. Henzepeter, resolute and seeking the good; 4. Stoy, intelligent and kindhearted; 5. Frankenfeld, taciturn and willing; 6. Wissler, greatly gifted and generous. Each was given 50 fl. as traveling expenses

³ The German title reads: *Die herrliche Erscheinung des Herrn Jesu zum allgemeinen Weltgericht*. . . . Gedruckt bey Henrich Miller, Philadelphia, 1763, 478 p.

to Holland. At the last moment Henzepeter withdrew, because his mother was unwilling to let him go. As a result Schlatter arrived in Holland with five candidates, in March, 1752. As a substitute for Henzepeter, John Casper Rubel arrived in April.

As two of the men, Otterbein and Wissler, had already been ordained in Nassau, their qualifications for the ministry were confirmed by the Deputies. The other three, Stoy, Waldschmidt, and Frankenfeld, were examined on March 11, 1752, the examination being conducted in the Latin language, as they were unable to speak Dutch. Stoy excelled in the examination, while Waldschmidt and Frankenfeld "gave so many evidences of knowledge, orthodoxy, and readiness in the subject, that the Deputies admitted them to the ministry."

After they had responded "Yes" to the ordination questions, which were read to them in German, the Deputies ordained two by two, laying their hands upon the head of each of the three candidates. Further, all five pledged themselves, by written subscription,¹ to abide by the Formulas of Unity and to maintain the subordination of the Coetus of Pennsylvania to the Synods of Holland.

Thereupon, "all of them, on March 14th, in an impressive and encouraging manner were admonished of their duty and set apart, under prayer for all grace and preservation upon the approaching voyage, for the Pennsylvania vineyard, Clerk Hoedmaker giving them in Latin a brief testimonial of the following import:

"The reverend and learned young man, Theodore Frankenfeld, by descent a native of Nassau, from the city of Herborn, being inclined to the Pennsylvania ministry, after inspection and perusal of his commendatory testimonials of both his academical studies and his candidature, from the theological faculty of Herborn University, appeared before us, the Deputies of the Synods of South and North Holland, for a peremptory [final] examination, as it is called, which included the sacred languages, the Hebrew of Genesis I and Psalm I, the Greek of John I and Acts VII, as well as the principal heads of theology (the examination being held in the Latin language), in which he has given so many proofs of his knowledge of the languages and theology, that he has been declared able to teach the Word of God and to administer the sacraments, and has been initiated and ordained to the holy ministry, by the laying on of the hands of us, the Deputies of the Synods, and thus sent into the Pennsylvania vineyard, with a prayer, imploring upon him God's manifold grace in Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit, for a prosperous journey.

"Given at the Gravenshage, in our extraordinary Coetus of the

¹ See the life of Waldschmidt, in this volume, for the text of this subscription.

Deputies, on March 11, 1752.

"In the name of the Deputies of the Synods of South and North Holland,

"Hermann Barthold Hoedmaker,
"p.l. Deputy of the Synod of South Holland, and Clerk of the
Coetus of the Deputies of both Synods."

The party left Amsterdam April 6, 1752, and the port of Texel on April 12th, arriving at New Castle, England, on May 21st. There they were delayed for several weeks, and did not leave till June 7th. After a journey of seven weeks crossing the Atlantic, they reached New York August 8, new style.² On the following Sunday they were in Philadelphia. A special meeting of the Coetus of Pennsylvania was held August 10-13, 1752, at which the new ministers were assigned to their various congregations. Frankenfeld was sent to Frederick, or Monocacy, in Maryland.

In the Frederick church record Frankenfeld began his baptismal entries on October 8, 1752, but he was not installed until the following spring. A statement made by Frankenfeld himself and now pasted on the inside cover of Vol. II of the records (which is a large ledger-shaped volume, identical in format and watermarks with others brought by Schlatter from Holland and presented at the meeting of Coetus, September, 1852, to the ministers present, of whom Frankenfeld was one) reads as follows:

"Today, the 4th [of May 1753] Rev. Mr. Schlatter came with me to this place, in order to install me in my office, but because floods had delayed our journey and the sermon could not be announced at the proper time, it (the installation) was postponed to another occasion, but it was resolved that I should preach my introductory sermon on Sunday.

"At the same time Mr. Schlatter represented to me that it was necessary for me to take charge also of the congregation of Conewago [Christ Church, Littlestown, Pa.] as well as Canogagic [St. Paul's, Clearspring, Md.], with the promise that when a new minister arrived he should be sent across the Susquehanna and then Conewago would be taken over by him." This statement is signed by the schoolmaster, Thomas Schley, who certifies that Frankenfeld had written it. The Coetus minutes of 1752 report: "Do. Frankenfeld rejoices with thanksgiving to God over his two congregations of Frederick, in Monocacy, and Conococheague, in Pennsylvania [*read* Maryland]." At the same time Frankenfeld praised his able schoolteacher in Monocacy, Thomas Schley, the direct ancestor of Rear Admiral Winfield Scott Schley [1839-1911].

² The various sources do not agree on all the dates, as they mixed up the old and new calendars, which differed by eleven days.

In 1753 Frankenfeld reported his salary as £50 and he received £21.8 from the Holland donations. In 1754 his salary was £40, which was supplemented by £20 from the Holland donations. He was present at the Coetus held at Lancaster in April, 1755. But in the minutes of 1756 his death is recorded. According to the Frederick Church record he entered his last baptism on March 26, 1756. The total number of baptisms from October, 1752, to March, 1756, was 92. At Conewago there are only a few scattered baptisms by him, in 1753 and 1754. In 1755 he discontinued his preaching at Conewago, so that delegates of the congregation asked Coetus to supply them with a minister. The care of the congregation was committed to Messrs. Schlatter and Otterbein.

The ministry of Frankenfeld was so brief that no definite reports of his personal appearance and only scanty notices of his work have come down to us.

A final, very tragic, note is added to his life by John Herman Steubing, a prominent historian of Nassau. In his *Materialien zur Statistik und Geschichte der Oranien-Nassauischen Lande*, i.e., "Materials for the Statistics and History of the Lands of Orange-Nassau," [Marburg, 1792] I, 250, he writes:

"Theodore Frankenfeld went to America. He called upon his mother, together with several children (among whom was a student of theology), to follow him. She followed. But the ship on which they sailed went down with all on board."

PHILIP WILLIAM OTTERBEIN

1726-1813

Philip William Otterbein was born June 3rd and baptized June 6, 1726, at Dillenburg, the capital of Nassau-Dillenburg. His father was the Rev. John Daniel Otterbein, who from 1719 had been teacher in the Latin School at Dillenburg. His mother was Wilhelmina Henrietta, daughter of John Jacob Hoerlen. The family stayed at Dillenburg, till 1728, when his father became pastor at Frohnhausen and Wissenbach, about three miles north of Dillenburg. There he remained till his death, November 14, 1742, when his mother with her children moved back to Herborn, where it was easier to educate her sons. In the same year Philip William entered the Reformed University of Herborn, where three distinguished professors were teaching at that time: Dr. John Henry Schramm, Professor of Practical Theology; Dr. Valentine Arnoldi, Professor of Systematic Theology; and Dr. John Ehrhardt Rau, who was an

Orientalist and Rabbinical scholar. Under these three men Otterbein completed his theological studies.

After leaving the university he became a private teacher in the county of Berg, along the lower Rhine, until 1748, when he was recalled to Herborn, as preceptor in the Latin School. Here he passed his examination in theology on March 6, 1748, and became a candidate of theology. In 1749, when his older brother, John Henry, left Herborn, having also served as vicar at Ockersdorf, Philip William was appointed to fill his place. He was ordained at Herborn June 13, 1749. The salary which he received as vicar and preceptor enabled him to provide for his mother and family and also to assist in the education of his younger brothers.

When the Rev. Michael Schlatter came to Herborn in 1752, in search for six young ministers to accompany him to Pennsylvania, Otterbein was one of the first to volunteer for that service. On February 26, 1752, he received from Professor Arnoldi a certificate of his attainments and personal conduct. The professor states regarding him:

"He has always lived an honest, pious, and Christian life; and not only by much preaching and faithful declaring of the Word of God in this city, as also at a near affiliating town, where he had been vicar for a considerable time, and at other places, but also by his godly life has built up the church. Wherefore we do not doubt that he will faithfully and fruitfully serve the Church in Pennsylvania, to which he has been called."

He left his home with his mother's blessing. The candidates appeared before the Deputies of the Synods, at The Hague, March 9, 1752, and a few days later, on March 14th, were commissioned as missionaries to Pennsylvania. At the end of March they left for New York, where they arrived the night before the 28th of July (or August 8, n.s.). Shortly afterwards they reached Philadelphia. A special meeting of the Coetus was called at once, to assign the six new candidates their respective fields of labor. Otterbein was sent to Lancaster. In 1751 it was a town of five hundred houses and about two thousand inhabitants. Otterbein accepted the pastorate of the Reformed congregation there, being engaged to serve for five years. On August 23, 1752, he entered his first baptism in the church record. In the year 1753 the old log church was replaced by a large, attractive stone church, in which the congregation worshipped till 1852. The parish of Otterbein included Lancaster and Pequea (at present New Providence), about ten miles southeast of Lancaster. In 1755 Otterbein was appointed to supply Reading and Conewago, now Christ Church, near Littlestown, Adams County. During his ministry at Lancaster he passed through a profound spiritual experience, by which he consecrated himself more fully to the service of Christ and the conversion of souls.

When his five years of service were completed in 1757, Otterbein was ready to resign, because he was dissatisfied with the lack of spirituality as well as church discipline on the part of his members. They, however, were not willing to let him go, but promised to subscribe any rules which he would lay down for their guidance. As a result Otterbein drew up an agreement (of which the original has been preserved in the Harbaugh Collection), in which the subscribers promised "obedience to their minister and officers in all things that are proper," and also agreed that before the Lord's Supper, on a day to be appointed for the purpose, they would appear before the minister for a personal interview. The paper was signed by eighty members, and although undated belongs to the year 1757. This was by no means a new custom in the Reformed Church of Pennsylvania, for Jacob Lischy made a similar agreement with his congregation at York in 1744.

After that event Otterbein remained in Lancaster only one more year. On October 8, 1758, he entered in the church record his last baptism and on October 18, 1758, his last marriage. He resigned intending to return to Germany to visit his family. When Do. Stoy, who became Otterbein's successor at Lancaster, asked him why he wanted to return to Europe, he replied that it was because thus far the congregations had observed the custom of dismissing a minister whenever it pleased them. This custom he wished to break, that it might not do greater damage by spreading further.

However, the plan of Otterbein to return to Europe was frustrated by the devastation of the French-Indian war and the fierce storms of that autumn. Hence he concluded that "it was neither safe nor convenient to begin his journey," and, as a result, he was willing to supply the two congregations at Tulpehocken, during the winter. At Trinity Tulpehocken Otterbein began his work in November 1758, his baptisms being entered in the record by the schoolmaster, Michael Baecker. His last baptism at Tulpehocken is dated July 29, 1760. In the older Tulpehocken Church (Host's, in Berks County) his first baptism was on December 3, 1758, his last on October 12, 1760. In 1760 Trinity Tulpehocken had 80 members and Host church about 40. During his stay at Tulpehocken he introduced (according to Henry Spaeth, *History of the United Brethren Church*, 1851, 23-24) evening prayer meetings, at which the pastor would read a portion of Scripture and make some remarks upon it. They would then sing a hymn, after which he invited them to kneel with him in prayer, closing the meeting "by addressing them individually with words of kindness and love." Such prayer meetings had been customary in Reformed circles in the lower Rhine regions, where they maintained themselves to within the writer's memory. They were

also used by other Reformed ministers in Pennsylvania.

When in May, 1759, John Conrad Steiner, after serving Frederick, Maryland, returned to the Philadelphia congregation, an exchange of spirited letters took place between Otterbein and Steiner, the former objecting seriously to the secrecy with which Steiner had made the change and to the ill-feeling which it was bound to create.¹ Steiner answered him at length, trying to defend, as best he could, his past conduct.

In May, 1760, the minutes of the Coetus report to the Fathers in Holland: "With pleasure we can now inform you that Do. Otterbein has concluded to remain longer with us. He continues to labor with much pains and blessing at Tulpehocken, and sometimes travels also to Frederick in Maryland, in order to keep together and feed with God's word the sheep left without a shepherd by Do. Steiner." These visits to Frederick were the prelude to his actual removal to that place. In October, 1760, the minutes of the Coetus state: "Now upon the advice of the Reverend Coetus his Reverence [Otterbein] has been transferred to a large congregation at Monocacy [Frederick], which was at a very great distance from any service, whereas Tulpehocken can easily be supplied now and then by neighboring ministers."

In 1760 Otterbein preached a sermon, which was published by Christopher Saur in 1763, entitled, *The Incarnation, bringing salvation, and the victory of Jesus Christ over the devil and Death. Presented in an edifying sermon, preached in the Reformed Church of Germantown, in the year 1760.* Germantown, 1763, 8vo. 15 p.

In the same year, 1760, Otterbein transferred his pastoral activity to Frederick, Maryland. His first four baptisms were performed at Frederick on November 23, 1760. There were about eighty members in the Frederick congregation. (*Minutes of Coetus*, 199). In 1761 the congregations of Reading and Oley sent a delegate to Coetus, asking that Otterbein be assigned to them as pastor. But Otterbein declared that he could not possibly leave Frederick without sufficient reason and accept other congregations. The ministry of Otterbein at Frederick was blessed, so that in 1762 a stone parsonage was built and in 1763 the congregation began to build a large stone church edifice to take the place of the original log church; it was finished in 1764. Nor were the pastoral labors of Otterbein confined to Frederick, but, like his predecessors and successors, he preached also to other Reformed congregations in Maryland and Virginia. In Maryland nine strong Reformed churches were found in 1763 (*Minutes of Coetus*, 217), while his successor, Charles Lange, preached to eight congregations in Virginia. During this period Otterbein

¹ The first letter of Otterbein is dated August 18, 1759; that of Steiner September —, 1759.

is reported to have "almost worked himself to death." (*Minutes*, 217). In 1764 he was absent from Coetus on account of a 180 mile journey to Virginia (*Minutes*, 231).

In 1763 Coetus extended a call to Otterbein in behalf of the Philadelphia congregation. A number of letters were exchanged between Otterbein and the Philadelphia Consistory.² In these letters Otterbein agreed to help them if some other minister could be secured to take his place, and he suggested that, as his congregation in Frederick was building a church, they should have patience till the following year. But, as they were unable to do that, he had to decline the call. In October 1763 Casper Weyberg was elected in his place at Philadelphia. During his stay at Frederick, from November, 1760, to October, 1765, Otterbein entered 157 baptisms and 81 marriages in the church record—in a script most difficult to read.

While pastor at Frederick Otterbein was married, on April 19, 1762, at Lancaster, to Susanna LeRoy³ daughter of Abraham LeRoy, the Rev. William Stoy officiating, who made the entry of the marriage in the Lancaster record. Mrs. Otterbein died six years after her marriage, on August 27, 1768, aged thirty two years and five months. The Rev. William Hendel, her brother-in-law, officiated at her funeral. Otterbein remained a widower for the rest of his life.

In May, 1765, the congregation at York asked Coetus for approval of a call they had extended to Otterbein. Coetus granted the request. The congregation had been vacant since the death of John Conrad Wirtz, on September 21, 1763. Otterbein entered his first baptism at York on November 10, 1763. His charge included York and two other congregations. In 1767 a clash occurred between Otterbein and the Rev. Charles Lange, who had become his successor at Frederick. Lange opposed prayer-meetings and spoke disparagingly of them and the people who attended them. Otterbein had visited Frederick on private business and had preached there. Lange declared that he would not allow him to preach again in his church. When Coetus met in 1767, Lange brought all kinds of charges against Otterbein, citing as proof views expressed in Otterbein's opening sermon; but Coetus declared itself in favor of Otterbein. It adopted the following resolutions:

"a. That neither in general as to doctrine nor in particular in the the sermon preached at the opening of Coetus does there appear any contempt of religion, the sacraments, or the ministers. Neither can the di-

² These letters are in the archives of the Philadelphia Church. Letter Book, Nos. 19, 27, 31, 33, 38, 43.

³ The Rev. William Hendel married her sister Elizabeth, about 1766.

vision in the congregation [at Frederick] be laid to his charge.

"b. That it is not against the teaching of our church, when people sometimes come together to pray and read God's Word.

"c. That no congregation belonging to this Coetus has any right, on its own authority, to forbid the pulpit to a member of this Coetus, without the knowledge of the Coetus and its permission.

"d. That Do. Lange as soon as possible be removed to another congregation"

The statistics of 1767 report that Otterbein had fifty families at York and that in addition to York he was serving Paradise and Bermudian. In 1768 Coetus voted Otterbein 50 *fl.* or £7.2.10 of the Holland donations, because of his great expenses in connection with the long sickness and death of his wife and in consideration of the poverty of his congregation at York.

In the spring of 1770 Otterbein undertook his long-contemplated visit to Germany. His last baptism at York before his departure is dated April 13, 1770. His entries were not resumed till October 8, 1771, when a new series of entries made by his hand begins. These entries indicate the length of his stay abroad. During his absence the neighboring ministers supplied York as often as possible. On his return Otterbein continued to minister at York till April, 1774, when his last entries were made in the York record.

While pastor at York Otterbein visited his former fellow-student and friend, who had come with him to America in 1752, Henry William Stoy, Reformed minister and practicing physician at Lebanon. At the home of Dr. Stoy he met John Christian Stahlschmidt, who was a student of theology, preparing himself for the ministry in the Reformed Church. Stahlschmidt has left in his autobiography the following pen-sketch of Otterbein: "He was a very gentle and friendly man, and, because of his pious, godly manner of life, was highly esteemed throughout the land. He showed to myself, after I had the good fortune to form his acquaintance, much friendship and kindness, for which I also make my hearty acknowledgments. He is the only one in that country with whom I have a correspondence. . . . He told me that I might come to him at York, where he was then preaching, and that he would then see what would be best for me to do. . . . I was more than six weeks with Mr. Otterbein at York, and preached twice in town and once in the country."⁴

Already in 1773, after Benedict Schwope had retired from Baltimore, Otterbein had received a call from the Second Reformed Congregation in Baltimore, which about 1770 had split off from the old mother

⁴ See his *Pilgerreise*, 288ff.

church. When the call was laid before the Coetus, in October 1773, Coetus advised against accepting it, because of a division in the congregation. At that meeting Otterbein notified Coetus that he was determined to leave York. but it was not till April, 1774, that he really left York and moved to Baltimore. He sent a letter to Coetus, in which he appealed to his liberty of conscience to accept the call of the Baltimore congregation. The Coetus of 1775, at which Otterbein was present, advised, "after mature deliberation, that Do. Otterbein continue his work in the congregation at Baltimore. It appears from his report that he labors with blessing and that the opposing party is becoming quiet."

Shortly after his arrival in Baltimore Otterbein began to introduce the old pietistic idea of forming societies and organizing class meetings. This plan of practical church work, although first used in this country and brought to his notice by the Methodists, was not unknown to him. It was a method long familiar in the pietistic circles of Germany. Otterbein now began this method of work in the Reformed Church and found a number of willing helpers. Of the twenty ministers then connected with the Coetus, six joined him and formed what may be called the pietistic wing of the church. These ministers were: Philip William Otterbein of Baltimore; Benedict Schwope of Pipe Creek; Jacob Weymer, of Hagerstown; Frederick L. Henop, of Frederick; Daniel Wagner, of York; and John William Hendel, of Tulpehocken. The object of these meetings was the advancement of personal piety and the cultivation of the spiritual life in the family and in the church. The minutes of five of these meetings were found in the church record of the Pipe Creek Reformed Church and were published by Prof. Joseph H. Dubbs.⁵ They cover the period of May, 1774, to June, 1776. Benedict Schwope acted as secretary of these meetings. The minutes ceased when Schwope removed from Pipe Creek in 1776. Whether the meetings were continued is doubtful, although in the minutes of the meeting of June 2, 1776, there is a notice of a meeting to be held on October 20, 1776, in the house of Jacob Wilt at Conewago.

The relation between the two Reformed congregations at Baltimore again became strained when Nicholas Pomp assumed the pastorate of the older church in September, 1783. Complaints from the two congregations were laid before the Coetus of May, 1784. The question was then raised whether the two congregations should remain separate or be combined. Coetus declared that the two congregations, "so long as they adhere to the teachings and customs of the Reformed Church, will be regarded as [separate] congregations belonging to the Coetus, because no union can be expected (*Minutes*, 390.).

The differences between the two congregations came once more to

⁵ See *Reformed Quarterly Review*, 1884, 123-127.

the fore in 1788, when both Pomp and Otterbein, with their elders, attended the meeting of Coetus at Reading. At first there was ill-feeling between them, but "after Otterbein had explained that neither he nor his members had written to Holland against Do. Pomp and his congregation, as they had suspected, a mutual agreement was reached that no party would place any obstacle in the way of the other, but live peaceably together in future."

Frederick Dellicker, the Secretary of Coetus, gave Otterbein the following splendid testimonial:

"Do. Otterbein has grown old and grey, and is almost disabled by the hard service of the Gospel in America. He has done much good, has zealously toiled for the salvation of many souls. The aim of his ministry, even if it did not agree in every respect with the opinions of all, is edification and blessing, for what else should it be? He is a servant of the Lord who stands at the gates of eternity to render an account of his stewardship"—(*Minutes*, 425).

Shortly afterwards, on June 15, 1788, Otterbein wrote an important letter to the Deputies of the Synods.⁶ In it he reviews at length the history of the two congregations in Baltimore. He shows that the division arose in 1770, under the ministry of Christopher Faber, when he himself was absent on his trip to Germany. He closes his review with this statement: "From this it is evident that Mr. Pomp has accused me without cause. The division took place in my absence. I have taken charge of that part of the congregation which at all times submitted to the Coetus, and have sought discipline and order. I have taken charge of them, because I felt bound by my conscience to do so. In doing so I had the approval of the Coetus."

In the same letter he also defines his theological position. He writes: "The other complaint of Do. Pomp refers to predestination. He says that I am in error concerning it. I suppose he wishes to say that I deny it, and to tell the truth I cannot side with Calvin in this case. I believe that God is love and that he desires the welfare of all his creatures. I may be permitted to explain myself more fully. I believe in election, but cannot persuade myself that God has absolutely and without condition predestined some men to perdition."

During the last twenty-three years of his life (1791-1813) Otterbein attended the meetings of the Reformed Synod but rarely; indeed only four times, 1791, 1797, 1800, and 1806, the last when Synod met in Baltimore. During the same period he took a lively interest in the "great

⁶ The original is in the Hague archives (92.B.155). The writer has a photographic copy of the letter.

meetings" of the "United Brethren" and in their annual conferences. He was present at all their meetings up to the year 1806, when weakness of body confined him to his home. Although never formally surrendering his membership in the Reformed Church, his main interest in those years apparently centered in the activity of the United Brethren. Shortly before his death, on October 2, 1813, Otterbein ordained Christian Newcomer, for many years a preacher of the new movement, as a presiding elder. Upon him devolved the task of carrying on the work of Otterbein. The latter died on Wednesday evening, November 17th, 1813, aged 87 years, 4 months and 13 days.

JOHN CASPER RUBEL

1719-1797

John Casper Rubel (originally Ruebel) was born March 6, 1719, at Wald, in the county of Berg, now the Rhineprovince, Germany. His father was the Rev. John Casper Rubel, Sr., who had studied at Herborn University and was later, from 1713 to 1715, pastor at Duessel, and from 1715 to 1772 pastor at Wald.

John Casper, Jr., matriculated at Marburg University on May 20, 1731. He was examined and made candidate of theology by the Classis of Solingen, but had difficulty in securing a pastorate. In one election he was defeated by another candidate. In March, 1752, he was recommended to Mr. Schlatter by the Rev. Mr. Gulcher, of Muehlheim, Rubel's interest in Pennsylvania having been aroused by Schlatter's "Appeal" of 1751. As the sixth candidate from Nassau had withdrawn, Schlatter was glad to accept him in his place. Rubel appeared before the Deputies of the Holland Synods on April 6, 1752. He was examined in Hebrew and Greek, as well as in the principal subjects of theology, "in which examination he gave so many evidences of ability and orthodoxy that the Deputies admitted him to the sacred ministry, ordained him thereto at once with the laying on of hands for Pennsylvania, and, after he had subscribed the Formulas of Unity and the subordination of the Pennsylvania Coetus to the Netherland Synods, they gave him a testimonial similar to that of the three Nassau candidates." In this examination Rubel gave a sample of his temper. On March 31, 1753, Deputy Bernard de Moor wrote a letter to Rubel, in which he stated: "Even as you had given more than one example here in this country of your irascible spirit, which caused the Rev. Mr. Hoedmaker to observe that

there was not much to be expected from your ministry in Pennsylvania.”

Schlatter and his party left Amsterdam April 26, 1752, and after a short stay in England reached New York on July 27th. On the ocean voyage a quarrel between Schlatter and Rubel broke out, because Schlatter rebuked Rubel for his heavy drinking. The quarrel was but the forerunner of worse quarrels to follow. When the party arrived in Philadelphia Rubel would not stay with the others but took lodgings at an inn, where his movements would be unobserved and unhampered. There he met and consulted with the opponents of Schlatter.

When Coetus met at Philadelphia in special session on August 13, 1752, the new ministers were assigned to their new fields of labor. All were satisfied with their assignments except Rubel, who refused to go to Tulpehocken.

There were at that time two parties in the Reformed congregation in Philadelphia, a smaller party, favorable to Schlatter, which desired his return to the pastorate at Philadelphia, and a larger party, hostile to Schlatter and vigorously opposed to his return. Unfortunately Schlatter, before his departure for Holland, had given his congregation a written promise that upon his return he would not force himself upon the congregation but allow them a free choice in selecting a minister. The opposing party now insisted that Schlatter live up to his promise. As a result Schlatter was not permitted to occupy his pulpit, but they invited one after another of the new ministers to preach for them. When they had heard them all, they made their choice. An election was held in which Rubel received the majority of votes of those present. A call was made out to him, which he accepted. But this outcome did not meet with the approval of the members of Coetus, who insisted that the congregation wait until Coetus could act on the matter. This the Rubel adherents refused to do. When Coetus met in October, 1752, at Lancaster, Schlatter complicated the situation very much by demanding that the elders be excluded from the voting. This demand he made on the basis of a private letter from Rev. Mr. Hoedmaker, clerk of the Synodical Deputies. It was an unfortunate move, which at once divided the Coetus. Messrs. Weiss, Leydich, Rubel, and Wissler left the Coetus in protest, largely influenced by their elders.

In August, 1752, Rubel started a correspondence with Rev. Jacob Lischy that clearly revealed his independent spirit. He asked Lischy what regulations Schlatter had brought with him from Holland for the government of the Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania. He declared that his consistory in Philadelphia had no intention of refusing to obey good orders, “so long as they are Christian and do not infringe upon the liberties granted to them by God and the government of Pennsylvania.”

This, as Lischy pointed out, clearly implied that they would obey orders only as far as it suited them. Furthermore, Lischy reminded him, the commission given to Schlatter had been distinctly read to him, in the presence of Messrs. Weiss and Leydich, and was to the effect that Schlatter had the power, in consultation with his brethren in the Coetus, to assign the new ministers to their congregations and to install them there. And, finally, he reminded Rubel that he (Rubel) had declared in Philadelphia that, "if a thousand synods had given him (Schlatter) this power, he would not submit to it nor pay any attention to it."

To offset the force of these statements Rubel wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam, on December 3, 1752, that, if he were ordered to leave Philadelphia, he would be willing to go to any congregation that was assigned to him.

On December 12, 1752, Coetus met again in special session in Philadelphia to consider the case of Rubel and the Philadelphia congregation. They complain bitterly of the "malicious, rude, and disorderly manner" in which Rubel had set himself against their fraternal expostulations, by serving a portion of the Philadelphia congregation. This, they declared, "had caused a great commotion and scandal throughout the land." A petition from thirty members at Philadelphia was laid before the Coetus asking that Schlatter be allowed to preach to them. This permission was granted and Schlatter began to preach to his adherents, in the English Academy. Coetus praised Schlatter's conduct and asked the Fathers to judge contrary reports according to the merits of the several persons from whom they came. On January 29, 1753, Rubel wrote a letter to Do. Kessler, of the Amsterdam Classis, in which he requested that, if the Classis decided that he could not remain in Philadelphia, he be permitted to go to New York State, to accept a call he had received from there.

During the year 1753 matters took a turn for the worse in the Coetus. This was partly due to the Holland Fathers themselves in addressing a letter for the Coetus to Messrs. Weiss and Leydich, who at once inferred from this action that the direction of the Coetus had been turned over to them, and so they proceeded to act in accordance with this belief. A meeting of the Coetus was called by them for September 10th at Goshenhoppen, the home of Weiss, which later adjourned to meet, on October 10, 1753, at Cocalico, the home of Waldschmidt. This meeting was attended by Weiss, Leydich, Waldschmidt, Rubel, and Wissler. As a result of this meeting Rubel was installed as pastor at Philadelphia by Weiss and Leydich, on October 18, 1753.

Meanwhile Schlatter and his adherents had held a "regular" meeting of the Coetus at Lancaster, October 9-10, by which the division of the

Coetus into two rival factions was completed. When the report of the rival Coetus at Cocalico came before the Fathers in Holland, they at once ruled it out of order and refused to recognize any of its actions as legal. On December 6, 1754, Rubel wrote a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, informing them that he had received a call from a congregation in New York and that he intended to supply it once every quarter. Thereupon the Classis gave him his dismissal to New York, an action in which they were joined by the Deputies.

Meanwhile several important events had taken place in Pennsylvania. On November 15, 1753, Steiner was reconciled to Schlatter, in the presence of Otterbein, Lischy, and Du Bois. Rubel was much surprised and displeased with this action, as it removed one of his important supporters. Without offering any proof he asserted that it had been done only because Steiner needed his share in the Holland donations to pay his debts.

But another, more important, event was a second journey of Schlatter to Holland. In November, 1753, a special meeting of the Coetus was held at Lancaster, at which Schlatter laid before his brethren the confused state of affairs in Pennsylvania and asked permission to go to Holland personally to lay the condition of the Church in Pennsylvania before the authorities in Holland. A series of twenty questions and answers was drawn up and signed by Stoy, Steiner, Lischy, Otterbein, Du Bois, and Tempelman, in which the situation was described in detail and the importance of definite action was urged. There is also a probability that Schlatter had an intimation that the English society which had been formed for the establishment of schools among the Germans was ready to elect Schlatter as Superintendent of Schools. This election took place on March 20, 1754. When Schlatter received the appointment, he submitted it to the Deputies and at the same time asked for his discharge as pastor at Philadelphia. The Deputies not only granted this request but also dismissed him as a member of the Coetus of Pennsylvania.

At the same time they dismissed Do. Rubel also, in a letter dated June 19, 1754. The action of the Deputies reads: "Whereas Do. Rubel has written us that he has a request from New York to let himself be called thither, therefore we gladly give him, at his request, his dismissal from the service of the Pennsylvania churches."

When this action reached Rubel he was much surprised, as he had made no definite request for his dismissal: it had been read into his letter by implication. But he was willing to submit to the decision of the Deputies, provided the Philadelphia congregation would live up to its contract. This contract was made for one year (of which only half a

year had passed) and included the promise of a salary of sixty pounds. Hence he demanded that he be paid the full year's salary.

In addition the situation was further complicated by the fact that the Deputies had promised Rubel his full share of the Holland donations for the years 1752-54, in spite of the fact that they had ruled in an earlier letter that those who separated from the Coetus should not share in the donations. Moreover, Coetus complained that it had no money to pay 400 *fl.* The donations had all been distributed, and to take from future donations would mean that they would all be punished to reward Rubel for his obstreperous conduct. A compromise was finally agreed to, by which the Deputies paid 200 *fl.*, the Coetus 100 *fl.*, and the congregation 100 *fl.*

At the Coetus of 1755 Rubel agreed to preach his farewell sermon at Philadelphia on April 26, 1755, "on condition that the church would pay him half a year's salary; and Coetus pledged itself to supply the church gratis until they could obtain a pastor." The Deputies were particularly anxious to remove Rubel from the Philadelphia scene because they had come into possession of a letter addressed by Rubel to his father. It had been in a package of letters addressed by Rubel to Do. Kessler, of the Amsterdam Classis. The letter was open and was therefore read by the Classis and the Deputies. In it Rubel invited a certain minister, named Bernes, of Solingen, to come to Pennsylvania. He advised him to apply to the Deputies in Holland to pay his traveling expenses, or, if they would not do that, to take up collections on the way. The Deputies feared that Rubel might be encouraging other trouble-makers to come over and help him in his quarrels. Hence, when Bernes applied to the Deputies he was turned down. In October, 1753, another minister, the Rev. John Casper Lapp, of Hanau, had landed in Philadelphia and through the help of Rubel had settled at Amwell, New Jersey. All this raised the suspicion that Rubel contemplated the creation of a rival Coetus.

When Rubel left Pennsylvania, he went to the State of New York. However, his expectation of helping to organize a German Reformed congregation in New York City did not materialize. It was not established till 1758. He, therefore, accepted a call to Camp and Rhinebeck, and was pastor there from 1755 to 1759, following in the footsteps of George Michael Weiss, pastor there from 1742 to 1746. Later, from 1759 to 1783, Rubel preached at Brooklyn (Flatbush) and to neighboring congregations.

During the War of the Revolution Rubel was a violent Tory, who declared in his sermons that the colonies could no more get along without a king than the human body without a head. His most intimate com-

panions were Hessian officers, with whom he cursed and drank. He neglected his family, beat his wife, and was a disgrace to his profession. When called to account by the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, he refused, in a rude letter, to appear before them. As a result he was deposed from the ministry in May 1785.¹ He died May 19, 1797, and was buried in the graveyard of the Flatbush Reformed church at Brooklyn. His tombstone bears a Dutch inscription, which, rendered into English, reads:

"In Memory of
JOHN CASP. RUBEL, V.D.M.
Born March 6, 1719; died May 19, 1797."

HENRY WILLIAM STOY

1726-1801

Henry William Stoy was born March 14, 1726, at Herborn, in the principality of Nassau, now the province of Hesse-Nassau. He was the son of John Henry Stoy,² tailor, and his wife Anna Maria, nee Juengst, who had been married at Herborn November 4, 1714. They had seven children, of whom Henry William was the sixth.

He studied at the University of Herborn, beginning in the year 1741. He was licensed and became a candidate of theology September 15, 1749. When Schlatter came to Herborn in February, 1752, in his search for young ministers to go with him to Pennsylvania, he found Stoy as one of six young men who volunteered their services. At the last moment one of them, named Henzepeter, withdrew, owing to the earnest pleas of his mother, so that with only five candidates Schlatter arrived at The Hague, in March 1752. They appeared before the Synodical Deputies at their meeting, March 6-15th. They were duly examined, the examination being conducted in Latin. Stoy is singled out as "excelling" in the examination. They then signed the Dutch creeds and, on March 14, were solemnly set apart for service in Pennsylvania. They left Amsterdam April 26, 1752, and arrived in New York July 27th. Upon their arrival in Philadelphia a special meeting of the Coetus was held, August 10-13,

¹ The story of his later life is told in an article by Karl Hartnack in the *Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, LIX (1930), 168-170, entitled: "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der bergischen Auswanderung nach Nordamerika."

² The name was originally Steu. The father is named "John Henry Steu" in the Herborn records.

1752, at which the new ministers were assigned to their several congregations. Stoy was at first assigned to Cocalico, but this was later changed to Tulpehocken. His charge in the Tulpehocken region embraced what is now Trinity Tulpehocken in Lebanon county, the Host church, Muehlbach, and a congregation called Tolpehil (*Minutes*, p. 74), which must be what is now Klopp's church, in Bethel Township. His baptismal entries at Trinity Tulpehocken begin on October 15, 1752, and continue to November 2, 1755. While at Tulpehocken Stoy passed through a severe illness, due to the effects of the climate on the newcomer. It culminated in an attack of typhoid fever. He writes, on September 30, 1757:

"During the four years of my residence in America I hardly lived one day without feeling the discomforts of bad health. The temperature in this country is remarkable and excessively heavy for Europeans. Few are ever brought to the country without experiencing what happened to me. Sickness is the usual means of restoring most people, provided only they recover from it, as my experience proves. Last year, just after I had sent you my letters, Venerable Fathers, I was thrown into a violent fever, which was pronounced typhoid fever. My life hung in the balance. Meanwhile Divine Grace has restored me and so increased my strength, which had been exhausted through a long period of severe illness, that I never enjoyed happier days, so far as health is concerned, than after that time when I recovered from that sickness."

The ministry of Stoy at Tulpehocken was terminated in 1756, when the Philadelphia and Germantown congregations became vacant. After full deliberation the Coetus of June, 1756, decided that Stoy should go to Philadelphia and that his ministry there should begin on July 10, 1756 (*Minutes*, p. 142). On December 24, 1756, Stoy signed a receipt for salary from the Philadelphia congregation, covering the period of July to December, 1756, amounting to £20. This assignment was renewed in August, 1757, when Stoy declared his willingness to remain still longer in these congregations. The end of his pastorate seems to be fixed at the end of 1757 by the Germantown record, in which his entries cease on December 10, 1757.

Stoy probably would have stayed longer in Philadelphia if he had not contracted what was considered an "unfortunate" marriage. Sometime in 1757 he married Maria Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick Maus, a stocking-weaver. Immediately all sorts of malicious rumors were rife, including the story that the couple had eloped. Three years later these rumors were still in circulation and had traveled far, for, apparently in response to an inquiry from Holland, the Coetus of October, 1760, assured the Reverend Fathers that "nothing in the way of scandal" had

occurred and that the marriage had taken place in the home of the bride, in the presence of three members of the Coetus: Otterbein, Leydich, and Du Bois (*Minutes*, p. 193). At this time Mr. Stoy had already been two years in Lancaster, having been called by the congregation at that place immediately upon the resignation of Mr. Otterbein, in September, 1758. Regarding his ministry in Lancaster the minutes of Coetus, of May 1760, state:

"When Do. Stoy arrived there in the year 1758, in the month of October, he found about 100 families belonging to the congregation. Since that time he has baptized up to the month of May, 1760, 116 children. During the same time he instructed in the Confession of Faith, and received as members, 40 persons. Sixty children are in attendance upon the school."

In 1760 Stoy and Otterbein were appointed visitors of the churches, to inquire into their condition and to report to Coetus regarding them. In the minutes of 1761 is a full report of Stoy's visitation of the churches. At the same time Tulpehocken and neighboring churches requested to be supplied by Stoy occasionally, which he promised to do. He also preached occasionally at the Pequea Church. Stoy continued in the ministry at Lancaster till 1763. His last baptism at Lancaster is dated January 3, 1763.

After his retirement from Lancaster Stoy returned to his home in Germany. On the way he stopped in Amsterdam, where he came in contact with the Classis of Amsterdam on May 19, 1763. From there he traveled to Herborn, his home town, where he studied medicine privately under the tuition of Prof. John Adam Hofman.² He returned to America before September 1767. On November 5, 1767, he wrote to the Classis that he had returned to Pennsylvania and had accepted a call to one of the Tulpehocken churches, now known as the Host Church, in Tulpehocken Township, Berks County. But he complained that the Coetus would no longer recognize him as one of its members. The truth was that on his return Stoy had not communicated with the Coetus, had not attended its meetings, had without its knowledge and consent accepted a call from the Host church, and to climax his misconduct had slandered the members of Coetus by called them "drunkards and good-for-nothing fellows." As a result Coetus refused to associate with him any longer. To this decision they adhered, although the Fathers in Holland remonstrated. In 1771 the minutes of Coetus declared: "Much as we should like to regard Do. Stoy as a member of the Reverend Coetus, yet it cannot be done, because it is feared that if Mr. Stoy should be considered as a member of Coetus, he might do more harm than good among

² See Steubing, *Topographie von Herborn*, 279.

us, for he is well known to us." They feared his sharp tongue and his even sharper pen. Thenceforth Stoy continued as an independent minister and as a practicing physician, who made his home in Lebanon. From there he supplied the Host church till 1772, when it reverted to the supervision of the Coetus.

As a physician Stoy gained prominence and fame, especially through his cure for hydrophobia. General Washington's account book shows that he sent to him one of his servants for cure. He notes: "Oct. 18, 1797. Gave my servant Christopher, to bear the expenses to a person at Lebanon, Pennsylvania, celebrated for curing persons bit by wild animals, \$25.00." His drops for hysterics, called "Mutter Tropfen," and his salve for itch also gave him notoriety, as people sent long distances for his remedies. He was also active in introducing inoculation for small-pox, although many opposed it as an attempt to thwart providence.

The *Hebron Diary* of the Moravian congregation at Lebanon throws light on his activity as a physician:

"1790, March 30. Do. Stoy, who offered his services free of charge, came this afternoon and inoculated our little Henry for smallpox. The doctor expressed with much warmth his opposition to theists and atheists, among whom he named the Freemasons. He also stated that there were persons in the community who believed in transmigration, and that these were the Devil's own children."

Another passage in the *Hebron Diary* shows that as late as 1790 he had not given up his pastoral activity:

"1790, Febr. 3. I visited Dr. Stoy in town [Lebanon]. We had a pleasant conversation. He is likewise a Reformed preacher and has still the charge of two country congregations. He is well versed in natural sciences. In his sermons he is philosophical, deep and expatiating, which obscures and taints the evangelical doctrines which he at times propounds."

His sermons were not only philosophical but also on occasion quite caustic. Daniel Miller has preserved in his *Pennsylvania German*, p. 185, the partial text of one his sermons, handed down by tradition. It was preached to a congregation in Berks County, which had failed to pay his salary for quite a while. He took the matter into the pulpit and gave his audience a caustic review of the situation. He spoke in part as follows:

"I have now preached God's Word to you for nearly twenty years, but it seems to have had but little effect, especially in these later years. The pay of your pastor has been shamefully bad and you seem to forget that he has a wife and children at home, who have mouths that must be filled and bodies that need clothes. When I look over the list of those who have paid to the pastor's support and those who have not, it sends

a chill down my spinal column, for I find so few who have paid anything. Yes! yes! the times are getting worse and worse. Many have grown so stingy that they cannot give the pastor a dollar for baptizing their children, but willingly spend four or five dollars for clothing for their children and dress them up until they look like monkeys. Where heretofore five dollars were given for a marriage, scarcely a dollar is given now, and this is wrapped in so many pieces of paper that it takes much trouble to find it. You give the preacher a good dinner, a few scrubby apples, and a dollar for conducting a funeral, and forget that he has a family at home with empty stomachs and wide open mouths. If you were unable to pay I would not speak of it, but the majority of you are well-to-do, and I can point my finger, from this pulpit, to more than half a dozen persons who recently slaughtered six to eight hogs and boasted that each weighed over five hundred pounds. Where are the puddings and sausages, the hams and bacons, that were sent to the preacher? He didn't get any. You expect me to tire out my lungs and body, directing you in the way to heaven, whither you all want to go, especially when it costs you nothing."

Stoy was also interested in social questions and politics. The Harbaugh Collection of manuscripts contains a long letter of Stoy, addressed to Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Council of Pennsylvania, containing his "Remarks on the present mode of taxation." In contrast to it he advocated a single tax on land, making himself thereby one of the first single tax advocates in this country, although his ideas differed considerably from later single tax theories. He interested himself in politics and in 1784 was elected to the Pennsylvania legislature. He contributed frequent articles on political subjects to the newspapers of the day, making the *Reading Eagle* his main medium for spreading his views before the public. In these articles he lambasted his opponents with stinging sarcasm and scurrilous ridicule, of which his attacks on a Mr. Jungmann, a newspaper man, in January 1798, are a good example.

Dr. Stoy died in his home in Lebanon on September 14, 1801, and was buried in the cemetery attached to the Host church. The inscription on his tombstone may be rendered into English as follows:

Here rests
WILLIAM STOY,
Preacher and Minister of the Word of God
Born at Herborn in Nassau
on March 14, 1726.
Came to this country in 1752.
Lived in the state of marriage with
Maria Elizabeth Maus 44 years.
Left 9 children and died
September 14, 1801, 75 years of age.

JOHN WALDSCHMIDT

1724-1786

John Waldschmidt, son of John Henry Waldschmidt and Christina Apollonia, his wife, was born August 6th and baptized August 12, 1724, at Dillenburg, in the then County (Grafschaft) of Nassau-Dillenburg. His father, John Henry Waldschmidt, son of Simon, had married Christina Apollonia, daughter of the Rev. John Weller, pastor at Elsoff, in the County of Wittgenstein, on January 17, 1718. The couple had eight children, of whom John (Johannes) was the fourth.

Regarding his education, the Coetus minutes of 1753 (p. 101) inform us that "he had little of an education, and secured an opportunity to study only after his 20th year." Nevertheless, when Schlatter visited the University of Herborn in 1752, he found Waldschmidt studying there and ready to go with him to Pennsylvania. On February 29, 1752, Schlatter started with five men for Holland by way of Dillenburg, where three of them (Otterbein, Waldschmidt, and Wissler) were born. On March 9, 1752, the little company reached The Hague, Holland, where they appeared before the Deputies of the Synods.

Messrs. Otterbein and Wissler having already been ordained in Nassau, the Deputies recognized their status as ordained ministers. The other three were examined, March 11, 1752, in the languages (Hebrew and Greek) and in theology. The examination was conducted in Latin, as they were unable to speak Dutch. In the examination Stoy excelled, while Waldschmidt and Frankenfeld passed well. They then subscribed the Dutch creeds, the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of the Synod of Dort. On the 14th of March they were set apart by a solemn service for their work in Pennsylvania.

Their subscription to the Formulas of Unity, still preserved, reads as follows:

We, the undersigned, confess by our signatures, that we shall adhere to all the formulas, for whose maintenance the ministers of this land [Holland] unite, and that we shall help to maintain wholeheartedly the subordination of the Coetus of Pennsylvania to the Synods of the Netherlands.

Phil. Wilh. Otterbein
Johannes Jacobus Wissler
Henry Wilhelm Stoy

Johannes Waldschmidt
Theodorus Franckenfeldt
Johannes Casparus Rubel.

Meanwhile a sixth candidate, the last to sign the Formulas of Unity, John Casper Rubel, from Wald, appeared. He was examined by the Deputies on April 6, and, being found well qualified, was ordained as a minister for Pennsylvania.

Schlatter and his party left Amsterdam April 26, 1752, and arrived in New York on July 27. There the missionaries were welcomed by the Rev. H. M. Muhlenberg, the Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, who happened to be in New York on a visit. Being invited to meet the new ministers, he greeted them with the words: "Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves."

When the party reached Pennsylvania, a special meeting of the Coetus was held, August 10-13, 1752, at Philadelphia, to assign the new men to their respective fields of labor. Waldschmidt was sent to the Cocalico Charge, where he was installed by Schlatter on October 22, 1752. Waldschmidt himself prefaces his church record with the following statement:

"In the name of God, Amen.

"This book was presented by the Holland Fathers, in order that the young children who are baptized, might be recorded, in the four congregations, Cocalico, Muddy Creek, White Oaks or Sebastian Reyer's Church, and Seltenreich, by me, Johannes Waldschmidt, as pastor of these four congregations. It was handed to me by Mr. Schlatter at Lancaster, on the 25th of October, after having been installed by him on October 22, 1752."

As to the identity of these congregations it may be said that Cocalico is now Bethany church at Ephrata; Muddy Creek still bears the same name and is located in East Cocalico Township; the original White Oaks Church is equated by Waldschmidt with the church at Sebastian Reyer's, now Zion's Church, near Brickerville, in Elizabeth Township; and Seltenreich Church is in Earl Township, near New Holland. In the Coetal minutes of October, 1752, a petition was presented from the *new* congregation at White Oaks (p. 76), while at the Coetus held at Cocalico in October, 1753, it was resolved that "the congregation at White Oaks can be combined with the congregation at Bastian Reyer's, and be supplied by Do. Waldschmidt (p. 107). This new congregation at White Oaks is now represented by the Jerusalem church at Unionville, in Penn Township.

When Waldschmidt took charge of these congregations in 1752, their strength is shown in the communion record of that year; at Cocalico, 72 communicants; at Reyer's, 60; at Muddy Creek, 80; at Seltenreich, 70. At Muddy Creek he experienced considerable difficulty, as he was opposed

by an independent preacher, Frederick Casimir Mueller. At the first regular meeting of the Coetus that Waldschmidt attended, at Lancaster, October 18–23, 1752, he declared himself satisfied with all his congregations except Muddy Creek, where Mueller was preaching to a part of the congregation. Coetus advised him to continue preaching there until the Lord would remove this obstacle out of his way. He reported also that he was receiving ten pounds of salary from each of his four congregations, and that he had schoolmasters in all of his congregations except White Oaks.

At the same meeting of Coetus 500 folio Bibles, printed at Basel in 1747 by John Ludwig Brandmueller, and presented by the Classis of Amsterdam to the Reformed churches of Pennsylvania, were distributed to the various pastors. Waldschmidt received twenty-four copies. One of these Basel Bibles, presented by Schlatter to the Swamp Church in 1755, is still preserved by that congregation. The meeting of Coetus closed, on October 24, with a thanksgiving sermon by Waldschmidt, from Hebr. 12:14. It was apparently the only sermon he ever preached before the Coetus.

There was, however, one action taken by the Coetus at Lancaster, on October 21, 1752, to which Waldschmidt objected. It was the ordination of Tempelman. To express his feelings he wrote a letter to Deputy Hoedmaker on November 22, 1752, in which he warned the Fathers against ordaining uneducated men. It does not appear what effect the letter had.

The year 1753 was one of the most critical in the history of the Coetus of Pennsylvania. The organization of the Reformed churches, which had been brought about with so much pains by Schlatter, was threatened with dissolution. The congregations were thrown into disorder. The ministers were divided by party strife. There were two factions, one led by Schlatter, the other by Weiss. The elders, insisting that there should be an elder from every congregation, threatened to run the whole show, ministers and Coetus included. Even the subordination to the church of Holland was questioned. Schlatter wanted to exclude the elders, at least from some of the sessions. Fortunately peace was again restored in 1754, when Schlatter withdrew, getting his letter of dismissal from the Fathers in Holland on June 17, 1754. Waldschmidt sided in this struggle with Weiss, as is evident from the fact that he was present at a meeting of Coetus held at Goshenhoppen, the home of Weiss, and also at the "Rival Coetus" which met in his charge at Cocalico, October 10–12, 1753. At the latter meeting Waldschmidt reported his salary as 35 pounds, from Cocalico, Seltenreich, and Muddy Creek. In the same year he is reported as having purchased a farm of one hundred acres. On this farm

the home was located in which he resided to the end of his life.

In 1754 Waldschmidt gave up Muddy Creek, probably through the successful opposition of F. C. Mueller, who was still preaching there. His last communion was celebrated at Muddy Creek on June 22, 1754. To compensate him for this loss a new church was built in West Cocalico Township, at Michael Amweg's, where he administered the first communion May 18, 1755. This is the present Swamp Church. But even in this new church Waldschmidt was not permitted to preach for any length of time, for he recorded the last communion there on October 25, 1755.

In 1756 Rev. William Stoy left Tulpehocken to go to Philadelphia. As the nearest pastor, Waldschmidt was asked to preach at Tulpehocken and at the same time also to supply Reading. Messrs. Rieger and Otterbein were appointed to install him at Tulpehocken on the 6th of July, 1756. At Reading Waldschmidt held his first communion on October 31, 1756, and in the two Tulpehocken congregations in November of the same year. At the end of the year 1756 he gave up Seltenreich, which was transferred to Rieger, perhaps with the view that Waldschmidt devote himself fully to his new congregations. But he served them only two years; then Otterbein became their pastor. In 1757 Waldschmidt began to serve Cacusi, now Hain's Church, in Berks County, where he administered the first communion on May 15, 1757. When Rev. Tempelman became blind and was thereby disabled from further service, Waldschmidt preached in his congregations for about a year. At Donegal he celebrated his first communion on April 6, 1760; in the Grubben Church, near Lebanon (now extinct), on May 15, 1760; and at Quitapahilla, now Hill Church near Annville, on May 18, 1760. In May, 1760, the statistics of Waldschmidt's pastoral work were as follows: 50 baptisms for the year 1759, and 15 catechumens, and at Cocalico 120 members. In October, 1760, Rev. Mr. Leydich reported to Coetus about Waldschmidt's ministry: "His churches were satisfied with his preaching, but wished he might be more diligent in his house visitations and more careful in his conduct." We cannot tell whether these criticisms were well founded. When, in the next year, Do. Stoy acted as "visitor of the churches," he reported that Cocalico and White Oaks were "tolerably well satisfied with Mr. Waldschmidt."

The year 1762 was remarkable in his ministry, because in it he gave up all his original congregations, whose pastor he had become in 1752. Thus, he held his last communion at Reyer's on September 19, 1762; at White Oaks on October 10, 1762; and at Cocalico on October 24, 1762. He also gave up Reading on September 20, 1762, because John W. Kals, an independent Reformed minister, had supplanted him there. He was

then pastor of Cacusi, where he preached occasionally from 1763 to 1765.

In 1765 he began to serve several new congregations; first, he resumed his activity at Michael Amweg's, by a communion service on April 14, 1765. Then he took over Epler's Church, in Bern Township, Berks County, holding his first communion there on May 17, 1765; also Muehlbach, in the present Lebanon County, where his first communion service was held on June 23, 1765; and the old Bern Church (called Stone Church), in Bern Township, on September 23, 1765. Thus, with Cacusi he had again five churches. On April 5, 1767, he began to preach and to hold communion services at Allegheny, in Brecknock Township, Berks County. These six congregations were more than he could well take care of. Hence he dropped Bern in 1766, and Cacusi complained in 1771 of being neglected by him. As a result he resigned Cacusi, which was joined to the Reading charge. The remaining three congregations, Alleghneny, Epler, and Swamp (called Little Cocalico in the Coetus minutes), remained faithful to him to the end of his life.

After 1771 Waldschmidt retired almost completely from the meetings of the Coetus. He had never been prominent in its official transactions. He had only once been its secretary, in 1758, but he had never taken a prominent part in its deliberations. After 1771 he never made a statistical report, except once in 1785, when he was present and gave his statistics to the secretary. After 1773 he was never present at its meetings, except twice, in 1782 and 1785, when they were held in Reading, near his home. But in his congregations he remained active almost to the very last. The last communion recorded by him took place in the Allegheny Church on October 23, 1785; the last baptism on September 12, 1786. He died two days later.

One of his sons, probably John, Jr., entered in the record the following statement regarding his father's death:

"God, the Almighty, called our dear father out of this world to Himself into a blissful eternity, on the fourteenth of September, 1786, in the forenoon between nine and ten o'clock. On the 15th of September, in the afternoon at two o'clock, his remains were committed to the grave. The Rev. Mr. Boas preached the funeral sermon from Ps. 73:23, 24. God grant that we all may be united with him. Amen. . . . The tombstone was erected October 6th, 1787. It cost 7 pounds and twelve shillings."

An unusual circumstance happened in connection with the tombstone about seven years later, which was thought very singular and which is not only traditionally remembered but also recorded in the church book. On Sunday, June 2, 1793, "when a large congregation was assembled in the church listening to the Word of God, and when the winds were quiet, the tombstone of Waldschmidt suddenly broke off at the top and

fell flat on the tomb. Many saw it and all heard it fall." The commotion in connection with this event was greatly increased in the minds of the people by the fact that Mrs. Waldschmidt, who had lost her mind long before and had not spoken a word for years, began to speak again on that same day.

The tombstone bears a German inscription, of which the following is a literal translation:

"To God alone be glory.
Here rests in God the
REVEREND
JOHANNES WALDSCHMIDT.
Ordained to the ministry 1752
(*Here is the break*)
Died September 14, 1786.
Age 62 years 5 weeks 4 days."

John Waldschmidt had been married, by Rev. William Otterbein, on May 14, 1754, to Maria Elizabeth, daughter of Christian Grub. She was born March 17, 1733, and died July 12, 1803. They had seven children, of whom John, Jr., kept and continued the records of his father, of which there are two volumes.

These two volumes are interesting, because they were among the books brought by Schlatter to Pennsylvania from Holland and distributed to the pastors on October 25, 1752. (*Minutes of Coetus*, 97). They are ledger-shaped, 16 by 6 inches in size. They have the following watermark, by which they can be identified: a lion rampant in an oval shield, with a Latin inscription along the edge of the shield, "Pro patria ejusque libertate," and the Dutch word "Vryheit" (*Liberty*) on the platform upon which the lion stands.

JOHN JACOB WISSLER

1727-1754

John Jacob Wissler, son of Ernest Wissler, chamberlain to the commandant von Spina, and Anna Christina, his wife, was born February 23rd, and baptized March 3, 1727, at Dillenburg, in Nassau-Dillenburg.

He attended the University of Herborn. There Schlatter met him and secured him for service in Pennsylvania. Schlatter evidently formed a high opinion of him, for, in a letter from Herborn to the Deputies of the synods of Holland, he called him "highly gifted and generous." Wissler

had seen some service as pastor in his native country, for, when he and his companions reached Holland, the minutes of the Deputies report him as having been ordained in Nassau. His qualifications for the ministry were, therefore, approved by the Deputies.

After his companions had been examined and ordained, all the six young men whom Schlatter had secured were given an impressive farewell service at The Hague, on March 14, 1752. They were handed their traveling expenses and their commissions and left Holland on May 12, 1752. After a short stay in England they continued their journey and reached New York on August 8, 1752 (n.s.). Wissler was the only one of the candidates who was accompanied by his wife.

At a special meeting of the Coetus of Pennsylvania, called for August 10, the new pastors were given their assignments to their respective fields of labor. Wissler was sent to Egypt and neighboring congregations, including Jordan and Heidelberg, in Lehigh County. On September 24, 1752, he opened his baptismal entries with the following statement:

"Johannes Jacobus Wissler, Dillenberga-Nassauicus¹, p.t. [pastor] at Egypt, Jordan, and Heidelberg."

From September 24, 1752, to an undated baptism in 1753, Wissler entered sixteen baptisms in the record; also two deaths, one marriage, and two lists of catechumens, in 1753 and 1754. He attended the Coetus held at Lancaster October 18-24, 1752. But even at that time he had failed to make a good impression upon some of his brethren (*Minutes*, p. 69). On December 2, 1752, Jacob Lischy, writing to Deputy Hoedmaker, passed the following severe judgement on Wissler: "Mr. Wissler will not be able to accomplish much good in this country, having already given sufficient proof that eating and drinking alone are close to his heart, but the hurt of Joseph² does not concern him." In another letter, December 12, 1752, Lischy writes: "When, upon the arrival of the brethren, I came to Philadelphia and heard Rubel speak so despotically and saw him drinking so bravely with Wissler, I could easily conclude what might be expected from them."

Owing to an unfortunate incident on the ocean voyage to New York, Wissler had taken a violent dislike to Schlatter. Consequently, when quarrels arose in the Coetus, Wissler sided with Schlatter's enemies. When, in 1753, the Coetus split up into two factions and the adherents of Weiss and Leydich held a "Rival Coetus" at Cocalico, Wissler joined them and

¹ This entry was misread by one of the assistants of Dr. Harbaugh, who reported the name as John Jacob Dillenberger.

² In German, "der Schaden Josephs"; see Amos 6:6.

made common cause with them against Schlatter. As a result, Schlatter's party no longer held back their condemnation of Wissler, but reported in the minutes of the Coetus held at Lancaster, October 9-10, 1753: "Do. Wissler has also bought a farm, but, to our great sorrow, lives on bad terms with his wife, and is given to habitual drunkenness." In 1753 Wissler's salary at Egypt was reported as £35. His ministry at Egypt was cut short by a serious illness, which lasted two months and ended with his death, in September, 1754. (*Minutes of Coetus*, p. 117).

His widow seems to have left Egypt, and to have moved to Falkner Swamp, for "Gottfried Wissler, son of the late pastor Wissler, aged 18 years," was confirmed at Falkner Swamp on Pentecost, 1773 (*Church Record of Falkner Swamp*, II, 155).

JONATHAN DUBOIS

1727-1772

Jonathan DuBois was descended from a well-known Huguenot family. His grandfather, Louis DuBois, born near Lille, in French Flanders, settled in Ulster county, New York, in 1660. He was the first elder of the Dutch Reformed Church at New Paltz, N. Y. His grandfather, Jacob DuBois, bought a large tract of land near Pittsgrove, Salem County, southwest Jersey, where his two eldest sons, Barent and Louis, settled. Barent DuBois had seven sons, of whom Jonathan was the fourth (Ralph LeFevre, *History of New Paltz*, N. Y. 1903.)

According to Dr. E. T. Corwin, (*Manual*, 442) Jonathan DuBois was born in Pittsgrove, N. J., December 3, 1727. He studied under his pastor, the Rev. David Evans (Presbyterian) and in the Synod's school at New London, Pennsylvania.

In October, 1748, he met Michael Schlatter, the organizer of the Coetus of Pennsylvania, who states in his diary: "On the 28th [of October, 1748] two Low Dutch students, who studied in this country, named David Marinus and Jonathan DuBois, inquired of me, whether I would assist them in getting permission from the Christian Synod to present themselves for examination to our Synod. This they desired that, if they should receive a regular call in the Church, they might then here in this country be placed in a position to accept it. I promised to fulfill their wishes." Some time afterwards DuBois was given a call by the Southampton Dutch Reformed Church, in Bucks County, which had assisted him in securing

an education.¹ According to the call he was to preach twice on Sunday in summer and once in winter. He was promised a salary of fifty pounds, and, in addition, the use of a seventeen acre farm, with house and barn; also a "saddle horse and all that belong thereto." (Battle, *History of Bucks County*, p. 486).

At first he came as supply, until he was ordained in 1752. Before this took place, on November 18, 1751, he married Helena Wynkoop, daughter of Garret Wynkoop, one of his elders (*Church record*, II, 106).

His examination and ordination took place before the Coetus of 1752. On October 20 Messrs DuBois and Tempelmann were examined, the first by Do. Rieger, the president [Schlatter], and Do. Waldschmidt. "Both were found orthodox, and the first particularly well versed in languages and the other sciences. These brethren this forenoon [October 21st], before a numerous assembly and in our presence, each delivered in his mother tongue a brief address or sermon in the church here [at Lancaster], whereupon they, again each in his mother tongue, were ordained by the Rev. President to the holy ministry; finally they were given testimonials certifying this." (*Minutes*, 75). According to Davis's *History of Bucks County*, (I, 174) DuBois was installed by Schlatter on November 12, 1752.

DuBois began his entries in the Southampton Church record on November 19, 1752. From that date to November, 1772, he entered 161 baptisms and 155 marriages.

One of the most important events during his pastorate was the building of a church at what was then called Northampton, now at Richboro. This enterprise was begun, in 1751, with the purchase of one acre of land from Evan Jones. A subscription list was opened February 14, 1751. A draught of the church building then erected at Richboro is still preserved among the papers of the congregation. One item in a bill of expenses is "15 shillings for rum for the raising of the meeting house." It was finished in 1753, without debt, but not without considerable contributions from the Dutch Reformed congregations in New Jersey and on Long Island. The list of contributors is still preserved.

In 1758 DuBois asked for permission to join the Dutch Reformed Coetus of New York, as the German language was difficult for him and his elders. The Coetus referred the request to the Fathers in Holland, who were reluctant to grant it. As a result he remained a leading member of the Coetus, in spite of language difficulties, which may have been somewhat exaggerated. In 1760 and 1761 he acted as secretary, in 1762

¹ According to Wm. W. H. Davis, *History of Bucks county*, I, 174, his father himself carried around the subscription paper to collect the money necessary for his son Jonathan and his nephew John, son of Louis, to study for the ministry.

and 1767 as president of Coetus. He was repeatedly chairman of important committees. He was regular in his attendance upon the meetings of Coetus, except when he was detained by sickness or high floods.

In 1765 DuBois reported that no school could be kept in his charge, because his two churches were too far apart (*Minutes*, 237). In 1772 he called attention to the founding of Queen's College at New Brunswick and asked Coetus to lend a hand in support of the institution, by recommending it to the members of their churches, which request was granted immediately. He had been elected one of the original trustees of the College in 1770.

Mr. DuBois died December 16, 1772, in his home at Southampton. He was buried in the cemetery of the Northampton Church at Richboro. His tombstone bears the following inscription:

In Memory of the
REV.
JONATHAN DU BOIS
who departed this life
December 16th, 1772
aged 45 years.
This monument of marble was erected
by
The Low Dutch Reformed congregation
of this place
As a grateful testimony of their
Singular Esteem & Respect for him
who for the space of twenty two years
so faithfully discharged the Pastoral Office
towards them.
Think what the Christian Preacher Friend shall be
You've then his character; for such was he.

After his death his congregations joined the Coetus of New York, because they needed Dutch and English preaching, which the Coetus of Pennsylvania could not supply.

JOHN CHRISTOPHER MUENTZ

1700-1755

John Christopher Muentz was one of two men who, although sent as missionaries to Pennsylvania, never reached their destination.

John Christopher Muentz, son of Herman Muentz, was born at

Langenlontzheim, in the Palatinate, and baptized there on March 14, 1700. He matriculated at the University of Herborn, October 25, 1715, as "Johannes Christophorus Muentzius, Langenlontzheimio-Palatinus." His brother Carl Otto matriculated at the same time.

We lose track of him till September 10, 1754, when he appeared before the Deputies of the Synods of Holland. Their minutes make the following statement about him:

"There was present at his own request, Do. Johannes Christophorus Muentz, pastor at Neukirch, in Nassau-Dillenburg, requesting that he be sent as minister to Pennsylvania. He presented: (1) A satisfactory testimonial of his becoming a minister in 1729; (2) A similar testimonial of his being a chaplain of a regiment on the Westerwald, dated July 1, 1734; (3) A call to become minister at Mengerskirchen, dated September 8, 1741; (4) A call to Neukirchen, dated October 28, 1750; (5) Finally a dismissal from the church at Neukirchen, to seek his fortune in America, dated May 17, 1754."

In answer to his request, the Deputies of the Synod of South Holland resolved to send a letter of inquiry to Prof. Rau, of Herborn University, regarding his person, doctrine, and life. On October 10, 1754, Prof. Rau replied favorably regarding him. His letter was sent to the Deputies of the North Holland Synod, for their opinion and decision. The latter answered, October 27th, as follows:

"Highly honorable Gentlemen and highly esteemed Brethren:

"Having read and considered the enclosed letter, we agree with the advice of the Deputies of South Holland and approve that Rev. Mr. Muentz, after faithful instruction and recommendation, and with our best wishes for success, be sent to Pennsylvania as soon as possible by the safest route, etc.

Signed: Amsterdam, October 27, 1754
by W. Peiffers."

As a result, Mr. Muentz was notified to appear before the Deputies the next day, in order to be duly qualified. On the following day he "was admitted and asked whether he was willing to go over and take up the work for the salary that the congregation could pay, and for what he would get as his part of the [Holland] donations. He heartily agreed to do so. He was therefore appointed by the Deputies of both synods, with certain conditions, which Rev. Mr. Muentz signed with his own hand. They wished him blessing and informed him that the next day he would receive his act of appointment, also a letter to the Coetus of Pennsylvania and 200*fl.* for traveling expenses, which was done. That as soon as possible he must go via England to Pennsylvania, in order that the want of

ministers in those churches be lessened at once by him."

His call was as follows:

"To the Reader Greeting. The Deputies of the Synods of Holland, learning that the Rev. John Christopher Muentz is inclined to serve as a minister in the churches of Pennsylvania and having seen his laudatory testimonial and dismissal from the service at Neukirchen, have decided to appoint him as regular minister in the above mentioned churches, in order to lessen the want of ministers there. By this act they appoint the Rev. Mr. Muentz to preach the Gospel in its purity and administer the sacraments, as instituted by Christ; to exercise Christian discipline faithfully and to fulfill all other duties pertaining to the church. To show his willingness to comply with the Netherland church order he signed it, together with all our Coetal resolutions, which were sent from time to time to the Christian Coetus in Pennsylvania. The Deputies charge the Ecclesiastical Coetus of Pennsylvania to recognize and receive him as such and also to place him in charge of a congregation and install him as soon as possible, that he may work for the benefit of those churches. Therefore we pray the All-Sufficient God to bless his services greatly and prosper him to the praise of God and the salvation of many souls by Christ, through the Gospel.

"Thus concluded the Coetus of the Deputies, November 1, 1754."

The expectation of the Deputies that Muentz would leave Holland as speedily as possible was not realized. On April 1, 1755, Muentz wrote a letter to the Deputies in which he informed them that the severe winter as well as his own illness had delayed him, contrary to his desire and expectation. But he hoped that improvement in the weather and in his own strength would permit him to depart in ten or twelve days. When Muentz reached London he was aided by Dr. Samuel Chandler, secretary of the London Society for the Germans in Pennsylvania. Muentz set out for Pennsylvania, but, alas, he never reached it. His sickness had so undermined his strength that he died on board ship. The letters which he carried for the Coetus of Pennsylvania did not reach them until the spring of 1756 (*Minutes*, 141). His widow was aided for a number of years (till 1771) by the donations from Holland apportioned by the Coetus.

Although Muentz never reached Pennsylvania, his name deserves a place in the annals of the Reformed Church, for whose service he sacrificed his life. He died as a good soldier in a good cause.

JOHN GEORGE ALSENTZ

1734-1767

John George Alsentz, son of John Frederick Alsentz and his wife Maria Rosina, nee Zerbacher, was born in April, 1734, at Gross Winterheim, in the Palatinate. The baptismal records of his birthplace, going back to that period, have disappeared. Alsentz began his theological studies in the (now extinct) University of Lingen, ~~now in Westphalia~~. A testimonial, signed by Prof. J. C. Mieg of Lingen, on August 6, 1753, was among his papers. In 1754 he entered the University of Heidelberg. His name is missing in the matriculation book of the university, but it is found in a list of students enrolled under the theological faculty during the deanship of Professor John Jacob Wundt (Toepke, *Matrikel*, 626). On May 10, 1756, he was licensed to preach and on June 1, 1756, was ordained by the Upper Consistory of the Palatinate.

In 1757 he traveled to Holland, where he came in contact with the Rev. J. J. Kessler, pastor of the German Reformed Church at Amsterdam. He preached for him a number of times. His sermons were well liked. He won also other friends among the Amsterdam ministers, who urged him to volunteer for service in Pennsylvania. He appeared before the Classis of Amsterdam, April 21, 1757. He made a good impression upon the Classis. Hence he was sent, with a letter of recommendation by Do. Kulenkamp, the clerk of Classis, to the Deputies of the Synods, before whom he appeared May 24, 1757.

A lively controversy arose between the Classis and the Deputies as to what body should examine and commission him. The Classis maintained at first that they had the right to examine and ordain any candidate who offered himself to them. The Deputies countered with the contention that, as the whole administration of the Pennsylvania churches had been officially entrusted to them by the Synods of South and North Holland, it included, as a matter of course, the examination and ordination of the candidates for Pennsylvania. The Classis finally gave in and thus the appointment of ministers to Pennsylvania remained ever afterwards a privilege of the Deputies.

As Alsentz had been licensed and ordained in the Palatinate, he was subjected to an oral examination only, which was heartily approved by the Deputies. A special form of commission was drawn up, to be used in this case as well as on later occasions, and, dated May 27, 1757, was

handed to Alsentz. The Deputies gave him 100 *fl.* for traveling expenses and sent him back to the Classis with the request that this sum be supplemented.

Alsentz arrived in London in August, 1757. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Chandler, secretary of the English Charity Fund, received him cordially and gave him additional traveling expenses for Pennsylvania. He started for his destination in the fall of 1757, but unfavorable weather compelled his vessel to return to port. He finally reached Philadelphia on December 3, 1757.

The minutes of the Coetus of 1758 continue the story: "With regard to Do. Alsentz, we wish to state that immediately after his arrival he was sent as minister to the people of Germantown. For on account of the lack of ministers they had been content up to that time with the alternating services of Do. Stoy, which he rendered in each of the two cities, in Germantown, and in Philadelphia, as we mentioned two years ago. But when Do. Alsentz arrived the people of Germantown asked of us that he might be given to them as their own pastor, at least until the time of the regular Coetus, at which this matter might be more fully considered. We consented willingly to this wish of the Germantown congregation. Meanwhile it pleased the congregation of Germantown and Do. Alsentz to remain together still longer. To that end the Germantown congregation, just mentioned, gave Do. Alsentz a legal call, which, having been confirmed by Coetus, was accepted by Do. Alsentz."

Turning to the record of the Germantown congregation, we find the following entry by Alsentz in the minutes of the Germantown consistory: "Continued by John George Alsentz of Gross Winterheim, in the Palatinate. After the congregation had been served from October 1756 to January 1758, by the Rev. Mr. Stoy of Philadelphia, I was sent by the Reverend Coetus to Germantown, upon which service I entered on February 5, 1758." From January 1, 1758, to September 13, 1767, Alsentz entered 419 baptisms, 169 marriages, and 85 burials in the church record.

It is not stated in the minutes of 1758, but as a matter of fact the charge of Alsentz included also Whitpain, or Boehm's Church, in Whitpain Township, Montgomery County. The minutes of 1760 state that in Germantown Alsentz had 160 members, and between 30 and 40 at Witpen (old spelling). "In both congregations during 1758 and 1759 (for in the month of February, 1758, he arrived there), he baptized 121 children, and one woman, thirty-three years of age. During those two years he instructed 33 persons in the confession of faith and received them as members. About 60 children attend the schools."

In 1761-62, Alsentz made a visit to Germany, to attend to family affairs. On his way he stopped in Holland, where he appeared before

the Classis of Amsterdam, February 2, 1762. He promised the Classis to look for young ministers to serve in Pennsylvania. But, although he sent in the names of several prospective candidates, none actually came. When he reached his home he found (as he probably already knew) that his father had died. This compelled him to stay for a number of months to settle the estate of his father.

He himself has left in the Germantown consistorial record a brief statement regarding these events:

"Inasmuch as the writer of this, John George Alsentz, found it necessary, for reasons best known to himself and the Searcher of Hearts, to undertake a journey to his fatherland, in the Electoral Palatinate, he began the same on August 26, 1761, his guide being the great Shepherd of men and Redeemer Jesus Christ. He also brought him back to this distant land and to his congregation in Germantown, where on October 10, 1762, he continued his service with a sermon from Numbers 6:24-26. Inasmuch as my duties here were almost too heavy for my shoulders, I trusted the Lord, that by His blessing they be made lighter. That was occasioned by the words of my text, given above." (The Lord bless thee, and keep thee, etc.).

During the following years Alsentz developed an unusual pastoral activity.

In 1762-63 the church at Germantown was rebuilt, 25 feet being added to its length. The total amount spent upon these changes was £526.2.2, leaving an indebtedness of £230. The pastor's salary during this time at Germantown was £65, a year.

At Whitpain Alsentz opened a new church record in August, 1764, with this inscription on the title-page: "Church Protocol, belonging to the Evangelical Reformed congregation in Whitpain Township, begun by John George Alsentz p.t. pastor of the congregation, A.C. [Anno Christi] 1764." That leaves the earlier part of his ministry at Whitpain unrecorded. But in 1760 ground had been bought, and a schoolhouse had been erected on it. The Coetus minutes of 1760 allude to this parochial school.

Much more important was the activity of Alsentz in reviving the old Skippack Reformed Church. A conference with that end in view was held as early as 1760. But, as it was found that most of the members had moved, a site was chosen at what is now Wentz's Church, in Worcester Township. The two brothers Philip and Peter Wentz were the leading spirits. The deed for the land bears the date January 2, 1762. The building of the church was started in that year. It was dedicated on November 13, 1763. Two collection books, still in existence, record the names of numerous contributors to the new church.

But the activity of Alsentz reached beyond the limits of his own parish. In 1760 he is reported as supplying occasionally Amwell, in New Jersey (*Minutes*, 187). On May 13, 1764, he preached the dedicatory sermon of the new church at Reading (Miller, *History of the Reformed Church in Reading*, p. 42). On May 8, 1766, he preached the dedicatory sermon, from Isaiah 56:7, in the new stone church at Tohickon (*History of Tohickon Charge*, 37). In September, 1765, he made a missionary tour to Virginia, during which he visited the Reformed churches in the Valley of Virginia, covering 200 miles in this journey, which lasted three weeks. (*Minutes*, 238).

The Coetus recognized his ability and leadership by electing him secretary in 1760 (May), 1763, 1765, and 1766; and president in 1760 (October), 1761, and 1764. From the meeting of September, 1767, Alsentz was absent, because of sickness. He died at Germantown, October 25, 1767. (*Minutes*, 276). He was buried in the Lower Hood Cemetery at Germantown. His grave, recently found, is marked by a tombstone, which bears a fading inscription, but partly legible. What can be deciphered reads:

In Memory of the
 REVEREND JOHN GEORGE ALSENTZ
 and his only son John
 the.
 He was born in Winternheim, Germany
 April .., 1734

CASPER MICHAEL STAPEL, PH.D.

1716-1766

It has taken a long time to discover the birthplace and birthdate of Dr. Stapel. But, when, in 1921, Dr. B. F. Fackenthal, Jr., presented to the writer a copy of Dr. Th. F. Chambers' *Early Germans of New Jersey*, he noticed immediately, on p. 104, that Stapel had left by a will at Trenton, New Jersey, a sum of money to his two sons, John Casper and John Andries, in care of his brother-in-law, John Peter Frank, of the city of Rostock, Germany. Sometime afterwards the writer sent a letter of inquiry to the librarian of the University of Rostock. On August 11, 1922, Prof. Dr. Kohfeld, chief librarian of the university, replied with a most satisfactory letter, to which we are deeply indebted for the European antecedents of Dr. Stapel.

Casper Michael Stapel was born August 5, 1716, at Rostock, in the Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. His father, bearing the same name, was organist of St. Mary's church, in Rostock. The son, Casper Michael, matriculated in the University of Rostock October 6, 1732. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was bestowed upon him September 20, 1740, and, on October 1, 1740, he became Lector, or Privat-Docent, in the Philosophical Faculty.

Later he entered the ministry. On November 14, 1744, he was appointed pastor at Meteln, in Mecklenburg. There he married Christina Elizabeth Lenz, the daughter of the aging chief pastor. It turned out to be a very unfortunate marriage. His ministry was marked by numerous quarrels with his congregation, described at length in a little book, entitled "*F. Schliemann [Pastor at Meteln] The last church visitation at Meteln. A cultural picture of the middle of the last century.*" (Waren, in M. Kaibel, 1888, 8vo. 61 p.). According to this book Stapel had a series of disputes with his congregation, largely about his perquisites, which revealed his careless administration as well as his unfortunate marriage. He himself asked for an investigation, but, instead of clearing him, it wound up with his dismissal from office by the Duke Frederick of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. For a short time Stapel stayed at Wismar, a neighboring city, then under Swedish rule. But, in November 1757, he left Wismar, to go, according to Rostock authorities, to parts unknown.

In reality Stapel went to Holland, for the Synod of South Holland on July 18, 1757, voted him 94 *fl.*, of which 44.15 *fl.* were given him at once and 50 *fl.* were to be given him "on his return."¹ This implies that Stapel had gone to a place agreed upon by the Synod, which was most likely the Reformed University of Herborn, there to study Reformed theology. Unfortunately, the matriculation book has disappeared, so that we are unable to give the date of his matriculating at Herborn. But in 1758 he published at Herborn a booklet regarding his change from the Lutheran to the Reformed faith. It is entitled:

Dr. Caspar Michael Stapel, Reasons why he, a born Lutheran and lover of the union of all Protestants, adheres nevertheless to the Evangelical Reformed Church. In it the most important passages [of Scripture] relating to election are explained. Herborn; [printed by] Chr. Mich. Regelein, 1758. He seems to have stayed at Herborn for three years.

In 1761 he was back in Holland. He was examined by the Deputies on July 10, 1761, and commissioned for Amwell, N. J., which had asked for a minister. While on his way to America he stopped in London, where he applied to Dr. Chandler, Secretary of the Charity Fund, for aid, but

¹ He had suffered shipwreck on the English Channel, and lost all his possessions.

was refused. On his arrival in America he went at once to his congregations in New Jersey. His charge included four congregations: Amwell, Rockaway, Alexandria, and Fox Hill (*Minutes*, 246). He seems to have begun his ministry in New Jersey in the spring of 1762. He was present at the Coetus of June, 1762. According to his first parochial report, made to the Synods on November 6, 1762, sixty heads of families contributed to his support and that of the congregation. He had instructed and received as members of the church 86 persons, among them even some Dunkers, and he had baptized 64, among them several adults. There were no school-teachers when he arrived; now there were two.

As time went on Stapel became more boastful about his work. On May 17, 1763, he reported to the Classis of Amsterdam that he had five congregations, and he added: "I hope to make New Jersey almost altogether German, as I have more than a thousand persons who adhere to our church, in five congregations, to four of which I preach on week-days."

He also took an active part in the meetings of Coetus. In 1762 he was its secretary, in 1763 its president. As secretary he practically took over single-handed the prosecution of Mr. Rieger, who, in his activity as physician, had issued a certificate of natural death in the case of a man who was suspected of having been killed by a stone-throw. Rieger was convicted on such flimsy evidence that it called forth a rebuke from the Fathers in Holland.

Most of the correspondence of Stapel with Holland was taken up with his wife, who had refused to accompany him to America. He asked the Classis that they strongly urge her to join her husband. On April 23, 1763, Rev. J. J. Kessler wrote her, in the name of the Classis, offering to help her in defraying her expenses to Pennsylvania and urging it as her duty to join her husband. But she continued in her refusal.

On November 22, 1763, the elders of Amwell wrote to the Classis, reporting that in the course of the year 1763 Stapel had instructed, in the truths of the Reformed religion, more than fifty persons, partly married and partly unmarried, with even some English persons among them, and had received them by confirmation as members in the four congregations, Greenwich, Rockaway, Valley, and Bethlehem. They inquired whether the Fathers in Holland would object to Stapel marrying again, after his wife had been cited by public proclamation and had refused to live with him after seven years of separation. The Classis replied, February 23, 1764, that without a legal divorce they could not consent to a remarriage.

In view of the large number of persons who were instructed by Stapel in the Christian faith and received into the church by confirmation, it is not surprising that he felt the need of a special catechism for their

instruction. Hence he published a new edition of Dr. Lampe's Catechism, called *Milk of Truth*. It appeared in 1763, published by Anton Armbruester in Philadelphia, 12 mo, 40 p. It has a very elaborate title page, which, reduced to essential statements, reads as follows, in English:

"Dr. Frederick Adolph Lampe's First Milk of Truth. Edited with some verbal changes, slightly enlarged and provided with a preface by the pastor of the High German Reformed congregation at Amwell, N. J., Dr. Caspar Michael Stapel, [published] with the knowledge of the Reverend Coetus of Pennsylvania."

However, the good beginning made in 1762 soon came to an end. Already at the special meeting of Coetus held in Philadelphia in September, 1764, numerous complaints were brought against him by his elders. They complained that he had treated them without consideration; that he had administered his office indifferently; that he had prepared lottery-tickets to secure a second wife; that he had asked for his dismissal, in writing, on July 28, 1764; that he would remain their pastor only if they would leave the Holland Synods and the Coetus; and finally that he was passing his time, partly in drinking, partly in thinking of the other sex, and partly in practicing medicine. This was naturally the end of his ministerial career.

In the minutes of the year 1766 we read the final chapter. Stapel had laid down his ministry. He had withdrawn from the Coetus. By his irregular life he had contracted consumption and had died in March, 1766. The exact date was March 17, 1766.² He was buried in the cemetery of Ringoes. His will, dated February 12, 1766, was probated April 2, 1766. In it occurred the following paragraph.³

"My executors are to send to my brother-in-law, John Franks, of the city of Rostock, in Germany, Secretary to the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the sum of 72 ducketts: out of which I request my brother-in-law, to pay 50 German dollars to the Commissary Fleur; and for his trouble I give him 20 dollars, and the remainder I give to my two sons, which I left behind in Germany, namely John Caspar and John Andries, who were born of my wife, whom I also left behind me; and, if either die before 21, then his share to the survivor. To Catharine, the wife of John Housilt of Amwell £10. To the youngest son, now living, of Peter Huffman, late of Amwell, deceased, £6, when he is 21. To my friend Peter Mires, who formerly lived with me, my large Dutch Bible, and also £6, but, if he die, then to his wife. To each of my kind friends and neighbors, Gearlough Loop, Joseph Bast, and Hones Goddard £4. To a

² Chambers, *Early Germans of New Jersey*, 104.

³ *New Jersey Archives*, 1st series, XXXII, 405.

poor man in Amwell twsp., named Mathias Becker, with his son, who is a cripple, £6."

Stapel was a man of unquestioned ability, who could have accomplished much good if he had known how to regulate his life and control his hot temper.

CASPER DIEDRICH WEYBERG (WEIBERG), D. D.

1734-1790

Casper Diedrich Weyberg was born at Westhofen, in the Ruhr Valley, formerly in the County of Mark, now in the province of Westphalia, on October 3, 1734. His father was Herman Weyberg (Weiberg). An entry in the records of the University of Duisburg shows that, after passing through the primary schools, he studied successively in the Gymnasium (college) at Dortmund and in the gymnasium at Hamm. Then, on October 15, 1756, he matriculated at the University of Duisburg (now extinct). On July 3, 1759, he appeared before the Classis of Cleve and was examined for licensure. Shortly afterwards, on July 20, 1759, he was examined and ordained by the Classis of Emerich, according to the minutes of the Deputies. He appeared before the Deputies in December, 1760, was examined, and then, on September 8, 1761, he was commissioned as minister to Easton. In November, 1761, it was reported to the Deputies that Weyberg would be ready to leave for Pennsylvania in about four weeks. But his departure was delayed by the sickness of his wife. A letter of Mrs. Weyberg is still in existence, dated Westhofen, November 17, 1761, in which she mentions her weak condition, but promises to accompany her husband if he cannot return for her in a few years. There was also the question of securing a certificate for Weyberg from the pastor at Westhofen, the Rev. Mr. Wever. Weyberg seems to have returned to his home and persuaded his wife to accompany him. But when they reached London, in the spring of 1762, she lost courage, or was perhaps too sick to continue, so both she and her husband returned to Holland. She seems to have gone home. Weyberg himself left Holland alone, after the Synod of South Holland had met in July 1762. He reached Pennsylvania about February, 1763. As he had been called by Easton, he at once went there. According to a letter of the Easton Consistory, he began his ministry on March 7, 1763. However, his stay was of short duration: it lasted only to October 8, 1763. The congregation at Philadelphia had become vacant, and, although Mr. Otterbein of

Frederick, Md., had been called, his acceptance of the call was delayed so long that the Philadelphia consistory lost patience and looked for another minister. They asked Weyberg to preach for them, and as he pleased them very much they gave him a call, dated October 25, 1763, which he accepted, to the great disappointment of the Easton congregation. On December 14, 1763, Weyberg wrote a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam in which he explained his decision. The long horseback rides to his country congregation had been too much for him and were undermining his health, and, moreover, the call of the Philadelphia people and their circumstances were too urgent for him to decline their call. He also informed the Classis that his wife, who had been sent back home, was expected to join him in the spring of 1764. Regarding his new congregation he writes: "The largest part of my labor consists of the catechetical instruction of married and unmarried persons, who desire to attend the Holy Communion on Christmas day. As much as I can learn, there are about 200 heads of families who belong to the old Reformed congregation. I shall report to your Reverences more details about the condition of the congregation next Easter."

The coming of Weyberg to Philadelphia ended a long period of dissension and confusion in that congregation and inaugurated a longer period of peace and prosperity.

Under Weyberg's leadership a new church was built, 90 feet in length by 65 feet in width. The corner-stone was laid April 28, 1772. The church was dedicated May 1, 1774, Weyberg himself preaching the dedicatory sermon, from Ezekiel 43 v. 7. The Governor of the State, English and Lutheran ministers, and a large number of people were present to observe that occasion.

During the War of the Revolution Weyberg stoutly defended the cause of the colonies and is said to have acted for a time as a chaplain. He preached to the Hessian soldiers, when the British occupied Philadelphia, and defended before them the justice of the American cause. Dr. Joseph F. Berg, a later pastor, reported in 1839 that the British threatened his life and threw him into prison, from which he was soon released.

On May 15, 1779, Weyberg wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam: "Whilst the British were in possession of the city, my congregation was scattered and my beautiful church was torn up and converted into a hospital. To the members who remain here I preach in the schoolhouse. At present the people are returning again and take possession of their homes; still many, from fear of the British, remain in the country. On the other hand, however, many strangers have moved into the city, so that my congregation is as strong as it was before." The first sermon which he preached in the church, after the city had been liberated, was from

the striking text: "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance; Thy Holy temple have they defiled" (Ps. 79:1).

When in 1781 Mr. Weyberg was compelled to leave the house which he had rented thus far, the congregation bought a parsonage for him for 750 pounds, Pennsylvania currency.

In the summer of 1787 the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, in connection with Rev. Mr. Hendel and two Lutheran ministers (F. Muhlenberg and Helmuth), for the prominent part they had taken in the founding of Franklin College at Lancaster, Pa., the college having been opened June 5, 1787, in the presence of a large number of distinguished guests.

Dr. Weyberg was described by one who knew him as "tall and slim." While going to church "he always wore a kind of hood or cowl. While preaching he wore a white linen ruff, or clerical neckdress. He always carried his Bible under his arm, on his way to church." He was an able and earnest preacher, who had a strong voice, by which he was able to reach all his hearers.

In 1789 we learn for the first time that the health of the pastor was giving concern. On August 19, 1789, the Consistory voted that "in view of the feeble health of our pastor, Mr. Weyberg, the children of our congregation, who are to be baptized, shall be brought into the church."

Finally, on Saturday, August 21, 1790, the secretary of the Consistory records: "The Rev. Casper Dietrich Weyburg, D. D., the beloved and faithful pastor of the congregation, passed away, after he had served it twenty-six years."

Weyberg was buried on the 23rd of August in the old Reformed cemetery, on which occasion the Rev. John Herman Winkhaus preached a German sermon from II Kings 13:14, and at the grave the Rev. Dr. Sproat delivered an English address.

On August 25, 1790, the following announcement of Dr. Weyberg's death appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*: "On Saturday morning last departed this life the Rev. Caspar Diderich Weyberg, D. D., in the 57th year of his age, and on Monday following his remains were decently interred in the burying ground of the German Reformed Church in Race Street. He was born and educated in Germany, and came to this country in the year 1763; the respectable congregation of the German Reformed Church of this city engaged his truly faithful labors for above 26 years, who most sensibly feel the loss of their worthy pastor and unwearied Instructor in the great Truths of the Gospel. The numerous attendance of citizens of every denomination, with their silent and mournful behaviour at the grave, evinced the sincere regard and peculiar esteem which filled the breasts of all towards him. The clergymen of the

city of every society accompanied in brotherly love and true Christian union his corpse to the silent grave, where a pathetic and suitable discourse was delivered in the German language by the Rev. Mr. Winkhouse, and another in English by the Rev. Dr. Sproat. Besides his congregation he has left a widow and three children to bemoan their heavy loss. Many things might be said in commendation of the Rev. Dr. Weyberg, but as newspaper eulogiums have become so common, these shall be omitted, only just hinting, that as he is so much lamented now dead, it plainly shows how much he was beloved while living."

Six days after Dr. Weyberg's death, his daughter, Salome, aged twenty years, followed him in death and was buried alongside of her father.

The Rev. Dr. Henry Helmuth, for many years his friend and colleague in Philadelphia, composed a touching funeral hymn, which was set to music and printed. It was sung by the children's choir of the church on September 26, 1790, when the Rev. John Herman Winkhaus delivered a formal funeral address in the church and in the afternoon preached his own introductory sermon as the successor to Dr. Weyberg.

Samuel Weyberg, one of his sons, born in 1773, entered the ministry of the Reformed Church in 1793, and was for many years a pioneer missionary in the State of Missouri.

JOHN WILLIAM HENDEL, D. D.

1740-1798

John William Hendel (to give him his full baptismal name) was born at Bad Duerkheim, in the Palatinate, on November 20, 1740. He was the eldest son of John Jacob Hendel, master baker, and his wife, Anna Sibylla, nee Ott. On April 14, 1753, Easter Sunday, he was confirmed and admitted to the Holy Communion. He entered the University of Heidelberg, matriculating there on May 10, 1759, as "Joannes Wilhelmus Hendelius, Dürckheimensis, theol. stud." He was still in the university in February, 1762, when with other students he was involved in a nocturnal students' row.

Recommended by the pastor of Duerkheim, the Rev. Mr. Kalbfus, Hendel appeared before the Deputies of the Hoylland Synods, at The Hague, in June, 1764, offering his services for Pennsylvania. His examination took place on June 27, 1764. It proved to be so satisfactory that the Deputies ordained him at once and sent him to Pennsylvania.

When he arrived in Philadelphia, in December 1764, he was met by a committee of the Coetus, consisting of John George Alsentz and Casper Diedrich Weyberg, president and secretary of the Coetus respectively. They sent him to Lancaster, with a letter of recommendation, dated December 18, 1764, in which they wrote:

"We find it very fitting to introduce this reverend gentleman to you, and we hope, at the same time, that he will be received with all the love and respect which he deserves. We doubt not his service will be acceptable to you all and will contribute to the well-being of immortal souls. . . . It will be necessary for you to reimburse us for Mr. Hendel's traveling expenses, which we advanced to him, namely £13 of our currency; which sum you will send, as soon as possible, to the Rev. Mr. Weyberg in Philadelphia. Further, we hope also that you will provide annually for his support £75 of Pennsylvania currency, besides a free dwelling, and we shall see, at the next meeting of the Coetus, what more particularly will be necessary in his case. His service begins with his introductory sermon. We recommend you to the loving care of the chief shepherd, Jesus Christ."

Mr. Hendel began his ministry at Lancaster at once. His first baptism is dated December 30, 1764. From that date to October 22, 1769, he entered 330 baptisms, 205 marriages, 45 burials, and 161 catechumens in the record. Beginning with August 18, 1765, there are also separate baptisms in a neighboring congregation, perhaps Pequea, as the Coetus minutes of 1768 state that Hendel preached at Pequea once a month. The record of Pequea Church, now Zion's at New Providence, Strasburg Township, contains 346 baptisms by Hendel, from July 9, 1765 to Aug. 27, 1769.

One of his baptisms deserves notice. It was that of Barbara, daughter of Nicholas Hauer and his wife Elizabeth. She was born Dec. 3, 1766, and baptized Dec. 14, 1766. Later she married John C. Fritchie, of Frederick, Md. She gained fame by waving the Union flag in the face of Confederate soldiers, when they marched through Frederick, a deed immortalized in Whittier's poem *Barbara Fritchie*.

During his ministry at Lancaster, Hendel married, about 1766, Elizabeth Le Roy, sister of Susan Le Roy, wife of the Rev. Wm. Otterbein. The eldest child, Anna Maria, was born June 30, 1767, her aunt Anna Maria Le Roy being the sponsor.

Another event during Hendel's pastorate at Lancaster may be noted. In 1769 a new organ was installed in the Lancaster Reformed church, made by David Tannenberg, the well-known Moravian organ-builder of Lititz.

In 1768 complaints were brought against Hendel by one of the elders at Lancaster. They complained of neglect of duty: that he did not visit

the parochial school frequently enough; that he did not catechize the children every Sunday; and by his preaching at Pequea the congregation at Lancaster was made to suffer. Coetus did not approve these complaints, but readily accepted the explanations. But when the complaints were renewed in 1769, by a "few self-willed and obstinate men," Coetus advised Hendel to accept Tulpehocken, which was vacant at that time. After some hesitation Hendel followed this advice and moved to Tulpehocken.

He began his ministry at Tulpehocken in October, 1769. His first baptism at Trinity Tulpehocken is dated October 29, 1769. From that date to November 1782 he entered 139 baptisms. His charge included in 1771 five congregations: Tulpehocken, Swatara, Muehlbach, Heidelberg, (now St. Paul's at Schaefferstown), and Kaemerling's. When Rev. Christian Stahlschmidt visited him in 1773, he was serving nine congregations. Stahlschmidt, then unordained, visited Hendel, stayed with him for some time, studying, and assisting him in preaching in his numerous congregations. In his *Pilgerreise* he writes about Hendel as follows: "This man is one of the best preachers, whom I learned to know in America. He was born a Palatine by birth, had come to this country as a minister many years ago [in reality it was but seven]. He had much knowledge [in theology] and the sciences; and without any sectarian or party spirit, he is, in heart, consecrated to true godliness."

During Hendel's pastorate a new church was built at Trinity Tulpehocken, whose corner-stone was laid on May 8, 1772, and whose dedication took place on June 6, 1773, when Messrs. Otterbein, Waldschmidt, Stoy, Gobrecht, and Bucher were present and took part in the dedicatory services.

While at Tulpehocken Hendel made repeated missionary tours to smaller German settlements to the north. Some of these settlements were in the Lykens Valley. Dr. Harbaugh (*Fathers*, II, 121) reports him as preaching at David's Church, near Millersburg, in Upper Paxtang Township, Dauphin County. The church record of that congregation has recently (August 1944) come to hand. It was opened June 8, 1774, by a hand which may well have been that of Hendel. There are 17 baptisms by this hand—on June 8 and August 17, 1774, and on May 1, 1775. Other Reformed congregations were organized about the same time at Schwaben Creek, in Washington Township, and at Stone Valley, in Lower Mahanoy Township, both in Northumberland County. These were begun as union churches in 1773 and 1774, and as Hendel was the nearest Reformed pastor he may have ministered to all of them. Rev. Isaac Gerhart, writing in the *Weekly Messenger* of February 14, 1838, gives a graphic description of Hendel's visits to this region: "Whilst he preached,

the guards stood under and around the door, with rifles, so that they could both keep a lookout for the enemies [the Indians] and also listen to the servant of God delivering unto them the glad tidings of salvation. They thus accompanied him from place to place; and, when the services were ended, he was guarded in the same manner, on his way home, till he was beyond the reach of danger; he being stationed at Tulpehocken."

In 1782, in answer to a second call, Hendel returned to Lancaster, where he was welcomed with joy by the old members. This second pastorate extended, according to the church record, from September, 1782, to February, 1794.

The most important event at Lancaster during Hendel's second ministry there was the opening of Franklin College, on June 6, 1787, when both the Lutheran Ministerium and the Reformed Coetus met in Lancaster and participated in the opening ceremonies. At the first meeting of the Trustees of the new college, on June 8th, the Rev. Henry Muhlenberg was elected principal and the Rev. William Hendel, vice-principal. For their devoted efforts in behalf of Franklin College, the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) conferred upon the main actors, Messrs. Weyberg and Hendel, of the Reformed Coetus, and Messrs. Hel-muth and Muhlenberg, of the Lutheran Ministerium, the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, at its commencement in 1787. Dr. Hendel was quite surprised by the honor thus conferred upon him. On October 8, 1787, he wrote to Dr. Rush of Philadelphia:

"The information you were pleased to communicate to me in your favor of the 29th ult. was quite unexpected. I return my sincere thanks for your friendly congratulations. Your generous friendship towards me hath certainly been the cause of using your connexion and influence with the venerable gentlemen of the College of New Jersey to receive me, who is not personally acquainted with them, among the number of their graduates."

When General Washington had been inaugurated First President of the United States, on April 30, 1789, the Coetus of Pennsylvania, at its meeting in Philadelphia on June 10, 1789, sent him a congratulatory address. It was signed by Wm. Hendel, president, and F. Dellicker, secretary. To this the President replied by a most gracious letter.

In 1792 Coetus appointed a committee to draw up a new constitution. The committee consisted of Messrs. Hendel, Pomp, and Blumer. In the minutes of 1793 we read: "The Church Discipline, which was prepared and submitted to Coetus by Domines Hendel and Blumer, was publicly read before the Coetus, and each paragraph and article thoroughly investigated, and various amendments made, after which it was approved and subscribed to by the ministers and elders." The first article

of this new constitution changed the name of the "Coetus of Pennsylvania" to the "German Reformed Church in the United States of America." They thereby declared the independence of the Synod from the Church of Holland.

In 1794 Hendel left Lancaster, having accepted a call from the Reformed congregation at Philadelphia. He entered upon his labors there in February, 1794. His first funeral in Philadelphia was on February 21st, his first marriage on February 25, 1794. While in Philadelphia, Hendel rendered several important services to his Church. The first was the preparation of a new hymn book. At the meeting of the Coetus in April, 1793, a committee was appointed, with Hendel as chairman, to make improvements "in a hymn book which is to be used in all our churches and congregations." The members of the committee were: Hendel, Helffrich, Blumer, Wagner, Pauli, and Mann. In 1794 the committee received additional instructions regarding the contents of the hymn book. The Psalms were to be taken from the versions of Lobwasser and Jacob Spreng, the hymns from the Marburg and the Palatinate hymn books. In 1796 Mr. Steiner, the Philadelphia printer, promised to publish it "next fall." Mr. Hendel, the chairman, wrote to Rev. John W. Weber on August 1, 1797: "The printing of our hymn book proceeds slower than I expected. The Psalms and 400 hymns are now done. As soon as it is ready I shall write you." The hymn book appeared in the latter part of 1797, entitled, *Das neue und verbesserte Gesangbuch*. When the second edition was printed in 1799, by Michael Billmeyer, a Germantown printer, Synod made an advance to Billmeyer "towards prosecuting the printing of the new hymn book," but did so on condition that Billmeyer take over "on his own account, the balance of the hymn books of the first edition that may yet remain in the hands of the heirs of Mr. Hendel, deceased." This implies that Hendel had published the first edition as a private venture, in consequence of which it was known as "Hendel's hymn book."

Another venture of Hendel seems to have been a companion volume to the hymn book of 1797, namely a German Reformed Liturgy, printed by the same printer in 1798, entitled *Kirchen Formularien der Evangelisch-Reformirten Gemeinen*, i.e. "Church Formularies of the Evangelical-Reformed Congregations." Michael Billmeyer, 1798, p. 60. We can hardly be wrong in the supposition that Hendel was its author, although there is no reference to it in the minutes of the Synod.

The ministry of Hendel in Philadelphia was cut short by a second plague of yellow-fever, the first being in 1793, in which the Rev. John Herman Winkhaus, the predecessor of Hendel, lost his life. The second epidemic, perhaps even more fatal than the first, swept thousands of Phil-

adelphians into the grave. The Rev. Joseph Berg, in an address preached to his congregation on September 29, 1839, gives the following description: "When the destroying angel received his commission again to make bare his sword over this city, and the overflowing scourge passed through once more, until its course was choked and stopped by the corpses of the dead, and terror was written on every face and death on every door, Hendel did not desert his post. He was with the sick; his place was the house of mourning. The blessing of those that were ready to perish came upon him, until he could visit them no more, and then he soon was gathered to his fathers." He died on September 29, 1798, smitten by the pestilence. His ashes repose by the side of Steiner, Weyberg and Winckhaus, in Franklin Square, which the city has changed from a cemetery to a park. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. J. Henry C. Hel-muth, D. D., his Lutheran colleague, for many years his faithful friend.

Dr. Hendel is described as a man of fine personal appearance. He had a strong voice, which he used to great advantage in public speaking as well as in singing. He had a brilliant mind, and a heart filled with deep devotion and sympathy. He was a man of prayer, who lived as in the presence of God and was able to carry his people to the throne of grace. He was, however, not as old and feeble as he is sometimes represented to have been, as he was but fifty-four years of age when he died. Yet, early in his career he was struck by shaking palsy, which left its traces in all his letters and church records. He was a prince among Reformed preachers, or, as Dr. Harbaugh has called him, "The St. John of the German Reformed Church."

JOHN NICHOLAS POMP

1734-1819

Nicholas Pomp did what few Reformed ministers have done when he left behind him a manuscript autobiography,¹ which is now in the

¹ This autobiography of Pomp has had a remarkable history. Many years ago the writer received, on a visit to Prof. Joseph H. Dubbs, of Lancaster, a fragmentary autobiography of Pomp as a gift, the professor stating that he did not know what had become of the rest of the MS. It was published by the writer in the *History of the Tohickon Union Church*, facing p. 56. In 1937, when on a visit to the Historical Society of the Reformed Church, at Lancaster, a package of sermons was laid before the writer, which he recognized at once as having been written by Nicholas Pomp. Leafing through the sermons, he suddenly came upon a torn page, and there, to his amazement, was the rest of Pomp's autobiography. Then this fragment and that of the writer were taken to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and there the two parts were joined together with Japanese silk paper. They were then returned to the Historical Society at Lancaster, after being thus restored, almost miraculously, to their original state.

Historical Society of the Reformed Church, at Lancaster, Pa. We shall follow it, adding only some few details from other sources.

John Nicholas Pomp (to give his full baptismal name) was born January 20, 1734, at Mambächel, a village in the parish of Baumholder, in the then Duchy of Zweibrücken. His father, Peter Pomp (Bomb) had married Anna Elizabeth Thomser, at Mambächel, on November 28, 1726. The couple had seven children, duly recorded in the church record at Baumholder, of whom John Nicholas was the fourth. During the first four years of his life he was constantly sick. After that he recovered his health and was able to attend public school till his fifteenth year. He developed early an interest in religion and was converted during the course of his catechetical instruction. His parents thought at first that they were too poor to allow him to study for the ministry. His father rather urged him to take up the tailoring business. But the sedentary life did not agree with him. It undermined his health and after a few years he was forced to give it up.

Then, when he was about twenty years of age, his father permitted him to prepare himself for the ministry. He spent four years in a Latin school, where he studied the ancient languages assiduously. After his graduation he matriculated at the University of Marburg, on April 25, 1757. After studying theology and philosophy for two and a half years he appeared before the Upper Consistory and asked to be examined for licensure. Unfortunately he failed to pass the examination. However, he was given a limited licensure, which allowed him to preach in rural churches. Being deeply religious himself, his sermons made a deep impression on his hearers. There were even some conversions. One of them was that of a servant of the Duke of Zweibrücken. This turned the attention of the Duke to him and won his favor.

About this time he received a letter from the Synods of Holland, asking him whether he would be willing to go to Pennsylvania. As he was ready to go, he asked the Consistory to ordain him, which was willingly granted. He was ordained at Cassel, and with an excellent certificate was sent to Holland. He appeared before the Classical Commissioners on March 14, 1765, and before the synodical Deputies at The Hague, with three other candidates, Messrs. Berger, Henop, and Zufall, in May 1765. The examination took place on May 27th, which they passed successfully. Three of the candidates were ordained; Pomp, having been ordained, was merely commissioned for Pennsylvania. After a long journey of fifteen weeks, they reached Philadelphia in October, 1765.²

² Pomp in his autobiography gives the date as Dec. 8, 1765. But that cannot be correct, because the Special Coetus which received the new candidates convened at Philadelphia October 16-17, 1765. (*Minutes*, 238).

On arriving in Pennsylvania, Pomp was assigned to Falkner Swamp, in Montgomery County, and Vincent, in Chester County, as Do. Leydich was too feeble to serve them any longer. Pomp entered his first baptism at Falkner Swamp on November 9, 1765. At Vincent (now East Vincent) his entries do not begin till June, 1767.

While pastor at Falkner Swamp Pomp married, on April 23, 1772, Mrs. Philip Dotterer (nee Elizabeth Antes), a widow with six children. She was the daughter of Henry Antes. Their only son Thomas, born in 1773, was for many years (1796-1850) pastor at Easton.

In 1774 Pomp published an answer to the universalist book of George Paul Siegelvolck entitled, in brief, *The Eternal Gospel*, which had appeared in German in 1768, printed by Christopher Saur, of Germantown. An English translation of the book had been printed by Saur as early as 1753. The book had originally appeared in Germany in 1700, and was written by Prof. George Klein-Nicolai, who used the transparent pseudonym George Paul Siegelvolck. The English translation of 1753 is said to have been due to Dr. George De Benneville. Pomp answered the book of Siegelvolck (so spelled in America) by *Prüfungen der Lehr des ewigen Evangeliums*, i.e. "Brief Examination of the doctrine of the eternal Gospel." Philadelphia, (printed by) Heinrich Miller, 1774, pp. 200. It was an attempt to prove that the doctrine of the "Restoration of all things" finds no support in Holy Scripture. There is no evidence to show how much influence the book of Pomp exerted.

After having served the Falkner Swamp charge for eighteen years, Pomp accepted a call to Baltimore. Pomp himself confesses: "My departure from Falkner Swamp caused much grief to me and much sadness to the people. Not a person was satisfied with my leaving them, although they could secure another and better preacher. So I left them with a sad heart and yet with the thought that I had done some good among them."

In Baltimore Pomp entered upon a difficult field of labor. He preached his introductory sermon on the first Sunday of September, 1783. The congregation which he served was known as "The old High German Reformed Congregation," as over against a second Reformed congregation, which had separated from the original organization about 1770. These two congregations had opposed each other from the beginning. Thus, in the minutes of the Coetus of May, 1784, we read: "From the two congregations in Baltimore, of one of which Do. Otterbein is pastor, of the other Do. Pomp, several complaints were presented of one against the other. The question was raised whether these two congregations shall remain in their present condition, or be combined. The resolution of the Coetus was to the effect that these two congregations, so long as they adhere to the teachings and customs of the Reformed Church, will be re-

garded as [separate] congregations belonging to the Coetus, because no union can be expected."

In the year 1785 conditions became even more complicated. The old congregation started to build a new church on "Jones Fall near Philpots bridge." Over the erection of this church a violent quarrel arose, which split the old congregation into two warring factions. Pomp himself complains in his autobiography: "I had to hold with one party, whereby the others turned against me. Besides, most of my best friends had died." It is not quite clear what was the exact cause of the trouble. It may have been the location of the new church, for events during the next years showed that it was badly located. October 5, 1786, proved to be a day of disaster. A very high flood tore down part of the church, causing damage of not less than 500 pounds. However, their neighbors took pity on them and helped them to repair the damage. Another flood followed on July 24, 1788, but left the church undamaged. Meanwhile the new church had been dedicated on June 22, 1788, Rev. Mr. Trolldenier of York and Rev. Mr. Hendel of Lancaster delivering the dedicatory sermons.

At the meeting of the Coetus held at Reading, April 23-24, 1788, "Do. Otterbein and Do. Pomp, both of Baltimore, appeared with their elders and testimonials from their congregations. At first some ill-feeling showed itself, but a more desirable conclusion was reached than we anticipated. For, after Do. Otterbein had explained that neither he nor his members had written to Holland against Do. Pomp and his congregation, as they had suspected, a mutual agreement was reached that no party would place any obstacles in the way of the other, but live peaceably together in the future."

Nevertheless the internal condition of Pomp's congregation left much to be desired, and when he received a call from the Goshenhoppen charge, he accepted it without hesitation. On November 15, 1789, he preached his farewell sermon and during the week following left for his new field of labor.

When Pomp came to Goshenhoppen it was well understood that he was to serve the charge only until young Theobald Faber had finished his studies and was ready to take his father's place. Hence Pomp's ministry at Goshenhoppen was brief, covering only eight months, from November, 1789, to July, 1790, although young Faber was not ordained till, June, 1792.

In 1790 the Tohickon and Indianfield congregations extended a call to Pomp to become their pastor. He accepted this call immediately. He began his ministry at Tohickon on August 1, 1790. From that date to September, 1797, he baptized 239 children at Tohickon and 126 at

Indianfield, or Indian Creek, as it is frequently called. Part of this time, namely, from April, 1794, to August, 1795, he officiated also at Whitpain, now Boehm's church at Blue Bell, as is evident from the baptisms he recorded there.

In 1797, after a ministry of thirty-two years, Pomp retired, because of bodily weakness. He went to live with his son, the Rev. Thomas Pomp, who was pastor at Easton. Here he continued to preach occasionally, as opportunity offered. In 1809 he suffered a stroke of paralysis, which unfitted him for further work. He had occupied a prominent position in the Coetus. He was its secretary in 1769, 1782, and 1790; its president in 1770 and 1783. He died at Easton, September 1, 1819. He lies buried in the Reformed cemetery at Easton, his tombstone bearing the following inscription:

REVD NICHOLAS POMP
who was born
January 20, A. D. 1734.
And departed this life
September 1, A. D. 1819.
Aged 85 years 7 months
and 12 days.

JOHN JACOB ZUFALL

1730— ?

Zufall was one of the four ministers who came to Pennsylvania in 1765.

John Jacob Zufall was born at Obervorschutz, in the grandduchy of Hesse, on January 16, 1730. He was baptized on January 24th, his sponsor being John Barthold Maurer, of Amsterdam, the uncle of Mrs. Zufall. His father, John Zufall, was pastor of Obervorschutz from 1720 to 1732.

Young Zufall matriculated, April 30, 1753, at Marburg University, giving his home as Obervorschutz. He also matriculated in 1764, at the "Gymnasium illustre" in Bremen: "Joh. Jac. Zufall, Obervorschutza-Hassus, S.M.C." [Sancti Ministerii Candidatus]. Why he went to Bremen at that time is more than we can say.

In 1765 we find him at The Hague, where he presented himself to the Deputies of the synods as a candidate for the ministry and offered to go to Pennsylvania. With three other candidates he was examined on March 27, 1765. He passed a satisfactory examination and was ordained

and commissioned on the same day.¹ With his companions he traveled to Pennsylvania, reaching Philadelphia in September 1765.

At a special meeting of Coetus, held in Philadelphia, October 16-17, 1765, he was assigned to the Tulpehocken charge. The minutes of Coetus state: "In the absence of Do. Zufall, two delegates were present, with a letter from him, wherein he mentions his sickness and improvement, and that he found it necessary to serve four congregations, whereof he would make further report in the future. These are: two in Tulpitoun, [Tulpehocken, Host and Trinity], one on the Muhlbach, and one near Lebanon [Swatara], which are able and willing to contribute the necessary salary."

In the Trinity Tulpehocken record Zufall headed his baptisms with the following statement: "Continued by John Jacob Zufall, pro tem. preacher at Tulpehocken, after I began my ministry on September 13, 1765." From that date to September 13, 1767, Zufall entered twenty-six baptisms. His stay in these congregations was brief. Already at the Coetus of 1766, at Reading, complaints came in about him. But they were peacefully settled. They were, however, renewed in 1767, and concerned his "excessive drinking and his consequent inability to perform his duty in a proper manner." In addition, so it was reported, he allowed himself to be called by a rebellious faction in Philadelphia, the party which had called Rothenbuhler, whose work had ended in complete failure. Hence the Coetus of 1767 (at which he was not present) unanimously resolved: "That Do. Zufall, on account of his intemperate habits and the acceptance of a call to a quarrelsome congregation that has never belonged to Coetus, can no longer be regarded as a member of the Coetus, but is herewith excluded from the same totally and for all time."

Unfortunately for Zufall, part of this resolution was based on wrong information. He may have received a call from Philadelphia, but if so he did not accept it. An examination of several church records in Lebanon County shows that he continued to minister to some of his congregations. In the Kimmerling record his handwriting appears from Febr. 15, 1767, to Nov. 5, 1769; at Schaefferstown, in Heidelberg Township, (called Heidelberg in the Coetus minutes), his entries run from December, 1768, to October 29, 1769; at Swatara, from July 2, 1769, to Dec. 17, 1769.

During his ministry at Schaefferstown he was married. He himself entered his marriage in the record: "1769, March 20th, I, John Jacob Zufall, pro tem. pastor at Heidelberg and Muhlbach, was married to Veronica Brunner, daughter of Henry Brunner, by the Rev. Bucher, in my house." The marriage is also recorded in Bucher's private record.

There is only one more reference to Zufall in the Coetus minutes.

¹ For details see the life of Frederick Julius Berger in this volume.

In the minutes of 1769 it is stated: "We have learned that he was married in the past year. His wife, however, has left him. We cannot state with certainty where he is living at present."

By his handwriting the writer was able to determine his presence at Hanover, York County, where from April, 1771, to January, 1772, he entered twelve baptisms in the record of Emmanuel's Church, Hanover. After that we lose sight of him. He probably drifted still farther south to Virginia.

FREDERICK JULIUS BERGER

1740- ?

Frederick Julius Berger was one of the four missionaries sent to Pennsylvania in 1765.

He was born at Sargenroth, in the principality of Simmern, now the Rhineprovince, in April 1740. He attended the Gymnasium (College) at Zweibruecken, where his father was teacher in the Reformed parochial school. When the young man graduated on October 3, 1760, he is recorded as having been twenty and a half years of age. He matriculated at the University of Basel on October 22, 1760, as from Zweibruecken.

He appeared before the Deputies of the Synods, with three other candidates, Henop, Pomp and Zufall, in the Cloister Church at The Hague, where he was examined on May 27, 1765. He preached a trial sermon, from Luke 10:42, and was then examined in systematic and polemic theology, and also in Greek and Hebrew. "On account of their evident orthodoxy and aptness" the Deputies proceeded at once with their ordination. Henop, Berger, and Zufall were ordained by the imposition of hands, Pomp being exempted, having already been ordained at Kassel. They had to sign the Formula of Unity, "the entire transaction being concluded, with thanksgiving to God, and this, as customary, in the Latin language, even as it had been prayerfully begun by the examiner." Two acts, which concluded the whole ceremony, were the handing of letters of commission to the candidates and the giving of fifty guilders to each of them, for their traveling expenses to Holland, to which 200 *fl.* were added at the time of their departure for America.

It may be taken for granted that the four missionaries traveled together. According to the autobiography of Pomp, it was a journey of fifteen weeks. Hence they must have left Holland in the latter part of May, for they reached Philadelphia in the beginning of September, and

Zufall began his ministry at Tulpehocken in September, 1765. A special meeting of Coetus was called for October 16-17, 1765, to receive the new ministers and to assign them to their fields of labor. "Do. Berger, having been asked whether he would provide the church in Reading with the service of the gospel, and whether the congregation was able and willing to contribute the necessary salary, thereupon with the elder answered they would try it until the next Coetus and then would give further report (*Minutes*, 239).

In September 1766, Berger reported having 140 families in Reading. He had baptized during the first year about 60 children, received 21 as members, and had from 40 to 50 scholars in the parochial school. But he reported his salary as being so small that he needed "twelve pounds more to be able to live there."

In 1767 Berger was serving Reading and "Meden Creek." In the Muddy Creek Church record appears the following entry: "Berger served the parish for two years from Reading." This proves that Meden Creek was meant for Muddy Creek. His pastorate there and at neighboring churches, such as Cocalico and Seltenreich, must have been from 1765 to 1767.

But things were not going well with Berger. Even at the meeting of Coetus at Reading, in 1766, complaints came in from Muddy Creek. He was accused of drunkenness "and other consequent irregularities of life." In 1767 similar complaints were presented by the congregation in Reading. The officers of Coetus had a private session with him, at which he not only confessed his faults, but promised to amend his life. He even made a public apology and preached a sermon from the text: "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief." I Tim. 1:15. (*Minutes*, p. 264-266).

Unfortunately his contrition lasted only as long as he was in the presence of his brethren. On his return home, his evil life continued as before. A committee of Coetus went to Reading to investigate matters. As a result it suspended him, in accordance with a resolution of Coetus, until he should change his life. At the meeting of Coetus at Easton in 1768, to which Berger went on foot, a distance of fifty miles, he acted so boisterously and disturbed the meeting so much that, after Coetus had listened to the complaints, brought in writing, and had fully considered them, he was not only excluded as a member of Coetus, but also deposed from the ministry, with the promise, however, that he would again be admitted if he showed true amendment of life. (*Minutes*, 286).

He is last mentioned in the minutes of the Coetus of 1769, where it is recorded that he was serving an independent congregation near Reading, in the mountains, "where he lives with his family in great misery."

This sentence shows that Berger had married, sometime between 1765 and 1768. His wife was Catharine Sands, daughter of John Sands, an Episcopalian in Amity Township. The names of John Sands and his brother, Abijah, appear on a petition for the erection of Amity Township, March 3, 1744. Both were trustees of St. Gabriel's Episcopal church at Douglasville, Amity Township. How Berger became acquainted with this English family we do not know. It is barely possible that he supplied St. Paul's (Lutheran and) Reformed Church at Amityville nearby, where a log church had been erected in 1753. (Montgomery, *History of Berks County*, pp. 946, 950). Another Reformed minister, J. Christopher Gobrecht, married Elizabeth Sands, a sister of Catharine.¹

On May 20, 1771, a new union church was dedicated at Frieden's Church, Wernersville, in Albany Township, Berks County, when Frederick Julius Berger officiated as the Reformed pastor, preaching a sermon from Ps. 51:16,17. (*Records of congregation*). This is the last fact that we know about him. He probably continued to preach to independent Reformed congregations in Berks County.

FREDERICK LEWIS HENOP

1740-1784

Frederick Lewis Henop was born November 7, 1740, at Kaiserslautern, in the Palatinate, now Rhenish Bavaria. His father was Philip Lucas Henop, rector of the Latin school at Kaiserslautern, his mother Johanna Maria, nee Schaefer. His father died May 27, 1774, his mother in 1765. The father was succeeded as rector by his eldest son, Casimir, who had matriculated at Heidelberg University in 1753. Frederick Lewis matriculated at the same university, on November 29, 1758, as "Fredericus Ludovicus Hennop, Lutrensis." He was still in the university in 1761.

In May, 1765, four candidates appeared before the Deputies of the synods of Holland: Nicholas Pomp, Frederick Julius Berger, Frederick Lewis Henop, and John Jacob Zufall. They were examined on May 27, 1765. The trial sermon of Henop was based on Hebrews 12:3. Then followed an examination of Joshua, chap. II, in Hebrew, and of Matthew 5 in Greek, which the candidates passed with credit. They were commissioned and ordained, except Pomp, who had been ordained in Germany. The exact time when they left Holland is not known, but Pomp

¹ John Sands died in 1775. In his will, probated at Reading, he mentions among his children both Catharine Berger and Elizabeth Gobrecht.

states that the sea-voyage lasted fifteen weeks and that they reached Philadelphia in December, 1765.

Coetus assigned Henop to the Easton charge, consisting of Easton, Plainfield, Dryland, and Greenwich in N. J. These congregations had bitterly complained about the sudden departure of Weyberg from their midst in 1763. At Easton Henop began his baptisms in February, 1766; at Plainfield in March, 1766; and at Dryland in July, 1766. At the Coetus of 1766 he reported 27 families at Easton, 33 at Dryland, 44 at Greenwich, and 24 at Plainfield. There were parochial schools in each of these churches, with a total of 107 scholars. In later reports these figures increased slightly. He was pastor of this charge till October, 1769, when he accepted a call to Frederick, Md. From June, 1770, to September, 1784, Henop entered 830 baptisms in the Frederick record. His charge embraced the following congregations: Frederick, Glade, and Middletown, called "In the Mountains," in the minutes of 1770. Henop was secretary of Coetus in 1770, and its president in 1771.

In addition to serving these regular congregations, Henop engaged also in missionary work. In 1771 Coetus received a request from five congregations in Virginia, to send them a minister, if possible, or, if this could not be done, that they might be visited several times a year by a member of Coetus. It was reported that Mr. Henop and also Mr. Weymer of Hagerstown had visited them, and Coetus assured them that they would be visited as often as possible. As Henop and Weymer were the nearest pastors, this visiting naturally fell to their lot. The churches in Virginia that applied for help were: Louis-Steffenstown (later Stephensburg, now Stephen's City), Staufferstown (now Strasburg), Muellerstown (now Woodstock), at Roeder's Church (now Rader's). Henop preached also for some time at Lovettsville, Loudon County, Virginia, according to Dr. Harbaugh (*Fathers*, II, 117).

The minutes of 1785 have the following (p. 394):

"Frederick Henop, who served Frederick, accepted a call from Reading. When he intended to go to Reading, in the latter part of October last year, the Lord of life and death placed him on a sick bed, and to the greatest regret of ourselves and the congregation of Reading, called this most worthy man into that endless eternity, where, as we hope, he now enjoys the reward of faithful ministers." His last baptism was entered on September 4, 1784. He died in the latter part of October, 1784.

Dr. Daniel Zacharias, in his *Centenary Sermon* at Frederick, published in 1847, says of him: "He was considered a good preacher, and was much beloved by his people. Those of his spiritual children who are yet living hold him still in affectionate remembrance." His remains were buried beneath the church, "where the old pulpit stood."

JOHN DANIEL GROS, S.T.D.

1738-1812

John Daniel Gros was born at Webenheim, in the former Duchy of Zweibruecken, now in the Rhenish Palatinate, on June 22, 1738. His father was Lorenz Gros and his mother Maria Magdalena. Nothing is known about his youth. He matriculated at the University of Marburg, April 20, 1759 (*Catalogus Studiosorum*, 336) and at Heidelberg University, April 21, 1761. In 1764 he traveled to Holland to offer himself for service in Pennsylvania. But "the time in Holland being too brief, on account of the departure of the ship, he could not further address himself to the Reverend Synods to await their decision." The minutes of the Coetus of 1765 state that he came to America with Mr. Hendel. Gros landed in Philadelphia, December 4, 1764, with the ship "Snow Tryall," captain John Clapp, master, from Amsterdam. We wonder why Hendel's name does not appear on the ship's list, if he came with Gros.

He appeared before the Coetus, meeting at Lancaster, May 8-9, 1765. He told his story to the Coetus and asked for its assistance. "We were obliged," the Coetus reports, "to take him from the ship, because several shepherdless congregations wanted to take him, engage him, and receive him as their pastor. To stop and prevent all disorder, we examined him in theology and languages, and found him excellently well versed. His delivery was defective, but his credentials from Marburg and Heidelberg were genuine and fine. Mr. Hendel's testimony of his conduct and diligence at the University of Heidelberg, as long as he knew him there, was of great weight with us. In this manner we ordained him and located him at Whitehall [township], where he is serving four congregations with zeal and praise. We trust that this worthy man will be accepted by your Reverences, and that our action, demanded by the state of affairs, will meet with approval."

His parish included four regular congregations: Egypt, with 94 members; Schlosser's, with 98; Jordan, with 73; and Allentown, with 83. At Schlosser's (or Union) he opened the church record with the following heading: "On December 20, 1764, I, John Daniel Gros, born at Webenheim, in 'Pfalz-Zweibruecken,' was called by the Reverend Reformed Coetus to be the teacher and shepherd of this parish, consisting of four congregations: Allentown, and three in Whitehall Township—commonly called Egypt, Schlosser's, and At the Jordan." The Fathers in Holland

were much displeased with the Coetus for ordaining Gros at once, without waiting for confirmation from the Synods of Holland, and for a time withheld their approval.

Hence, in the minutes of 1766 Coetus defended its action, making the following statement:

“Regarding Do. Gros, we must freely say, that to our best knowledge and conscience, he is as upright a man and as competent, diligent a person, as can be desired. He has labored with so much zeal and diligence in his four congregations, where many new ministers would not have wanted to locate by reason of the woods, rocks, water and rudeness of the people, that he has not only won the love and esteem of his congregations in particular, but has secured the friendship and commendation of all who know him.”

Gros served these four congregations and supplied also some “shepherdless congregations” nearby, for about four years and a half. In September, 1769, he received a call from Saucon and Springfield, but, although he complained about the “unfitness of his present dwelling at Whitehall, “he would not give up his congregations until Coetus promised that “the first capable minister, sent by the Christian Fathers in Holland, would be assigned to them.” Thus for a while he served both fields, Saucon and Springfield, every fourth Sunday (*Minutes*, 302). His last entry was made in the Allentown record on September 6, 1770. After that date he transferred his labors definitely to Springfield and Saucon. At Springfield his first baptismal entry was made January 20, 1771, at Saucon May 4, 1771.

Gros soon became a prominent member of Coetus, to whom important assignments were entrusted. He was secretary of Coetus in 1768 and president in 1769. In 1770 he was sent to Baltimore and Conogochegue, in Maryland, to compose disturbances in these congregations. In 1772 he was chairman of a committee to visit Reading for a similar purpose.

But in June, 1772, Gros complained, at the Coetus of Lancaster, that Lower Saucon paid no regard to the word of God preached to them, attended divine services poorly, and failed to pay his salary. Hence Coetus gave him permission to accept a call to another congregation. Such a call came to him from the German Reformed Church at Kingston, N. Y. In 1773 he sent a written statement to the Coetus of Pennsylvania, justifying his departure from Pennsylvania and giving as his reasons for leaving, first, unkindness, obstinacy, and negligence of the members in attending church services; and, second, injustice of withholding his salary.

In the state of New York Gros served as pastor of the German Reformed church at Kingston, N. Y., 1773–1783; then of the German

Reformed church in New York City, 1783–1795. During the latter pastorate he taught in Columbia College, as Professor of German Language and Geography, 1784–1795, and as Professor of Moral Philosophy, 1787–95. Afterwards he was pastor of Canajoharie and Stone Arabia, 1796–1800. While professor at Columbia he published *Natural principles of rectitude, a systematic treatise on Moral Philosophy*, New York, printed by T. & J. Swords, 1795, pp. 456. 8vo. It was the first competent treatise on ethics published in America.

During the War of the Revolution Gros was chaplain of the regiment of levies for the immediate defence of the State, appointed by the N. Y. Council, April 27, 1781. On April 10, 1782, he was appointed chaplain of two regiments of levies for the defence of the frontier of the State. (Corwin, *Manual*, 501).

The last ten years of his life were spent on a farm near Fort Plain, N. Y. Columbia College bestowed on him the degree of S.T.D. in 1789. He died May 25, 1812. He kept up his interest in the Reformed Church of Pennsylvania. The younger Hendel studied under him. With a friendly letter (still preserved in the Harbaugh Collection) he sent him to the Coetus, asking that a committee be appointed to examine him. Coetus promptly complied with that request.

JOHN GEORGE WITTNER

1735–1779

John George Wittner, son of the Rev. Abraham Wittner, was born August 13, 1735, at Bellheim, in the Palatinate. His father had studied at Heidelberg University, matriculating there in 1728. From 1734 to 1743 he was pastor at Bellheim. Later he became a member of the Upper Consistory at Heidelberg. His son, John George, also entered the University of Heidelberg, matriculating there on December 12, 1755. He seems to have been a rather mischievous boy, for the university records show that he twice participated in students brawls, for which he was duly punished.

What he did after he left the university is not known. In May, 1766, he and another candidate, John Theobald Faber, Sr., presented themselves before the Deputies of the synods. They were provided with testimonials which showed that they had been ordained by the Upper Consistory of the Palatinate. They also carried a special letter of recommendation from Prof. Wundt, one of the theological professors of the

university. When their examination took place on May 27th, 1766, they had been joined by a third candidate, Carolus Lange, of Innsbruck. Having passed their examination successfully, they were given their commissions and traveling expenses, and were then sent to Amsterdam, where they appeared before the Commissioners of the Classis, on June 5, 1766. Their ship, "Catharine," left Amsterdam on June 10th. It landed them in New York September 10, 1766.

On his arrival in Pennsylvania Wittner was assigned to the Cocalico Charge, consisting of Cocalico (now Bethany at Ephrata), Muddy Creek, Seltenreich, and Reyer's Church. He opened, on October 19, 1766, what is apparently the second church record of Cocalico. The first volume, covering the years 1732-1765, has disappeared. During his pastorate, from October, 1766, to May, 1770, he entered 59 baptisms, 6 marriages, and 22 burials in the Cocalico record.

Wittner was one of the few early Reformed pastors in Pennsylvania who showed any interest in church history. He made not only a list of the meetings of Coetus, from 1767 to 1770, which list was continued by later pastors to 1790, but also a list of all the Reformed pastors who were members of the Coetus during the same period, and added a third list of all the Reformed pastors who in the years 1727-1770 had preceded him at Cocalico. The last list contains some names we are entirely unfamiliar with, which appear here only.

He opened similar records in the three other congregations of his charge—Muddy Creek, Seltenreich, and Reyer's—whereby he added materially to our knowledge of these congregations.

However, while he labored faithfully as pastor of these congregations, his people failed to support him properly. His salary was paid so irregularly that he endured actual want, which in turn threw him into a state of deep melancholy that alarmed his brethren. This condition was aggravated by the fact that, on June 2, 1767, he had married Johanna Christina, daughter of Andrew Goehr, and that there were several children in the family.

In 1769 one of his elders brought before the Coetus a series of complaints about his neglect of his pastoral duties. "Do. Wittner disputed these accusations and stated, that especially two congregations remained far behind in the payment of his salary, and in consequence he had been in want of many things, which had made the performance of his duties severe and distressing" (*Minutes*, p. 285). A committee was appointed to investigate the conditions prevailing in his charge. Do. Hendel, one of the investigators, reported later that the charges made against him were found to be substantially correct. The secretary added in the minutes: "Do. Wittner is known among us as a person who for many years already

has been affected with melancholy, which ailment seems to be incurable, and makes him more and more unfit for the office of a minister. We are, therefore, much concerned about him but for the present can do nothing else for him." That was a heartless and thoughtless judgment, which was not borne out by later events. They might at least have helped him to get his unpaid salary.

In the following year conditions in his charge came to a climax and a committee of Coetus decided that the best remedy was to dissolve the pastoral relation. At the following meeting of Coetus, in September, 1770, the action of the committee was approved and the congregations of Worcester, Witpen, and Providence were asked to take pity on Wittner and give him a call, but they declined.

In 1771, "since Mr. Wittner has been without employment for some time, and as he complained a great deal of his temporal circumstances, it was deemed advisable to propose Mr. Wittner to . . . Upper Milford and Saltzburg (Salisbury), so that the good man, who is worthy of pity, might be helped in this way." Do. Blumer was appointed to go with him and recommend him to the congregations. This was actually done. Wittner preached a trial sermon to the satisfaction of the congregations and was called by them. He began his entries in the Upper Milford record on February 23, 1772. It proved to be a happy solution of his distressing circumstances. In 1773 Do. Blumer, then secretary of the Coetus, wrote in the Coetus letter of that year: "Do. Wittner conducts himself in his small congregations, over which he was placed, as it were, on trial, in such a way that as yet not the least complaint has been brought against him. Heretofore his poverty was the main cause of the miserable condition of his body and mind. Since this has now, to some extent, been remedied, there is hope that his ability to edify his people will increase."

In 1774 Wittner reported three congregations, Upper Milford, Salisbury, and Chestnut Hill, in Lower Milford Township. In 1777 he was secretary of Coetus, and probably would have been made president in 1778 if he had not been absent on account of sickness. He died at Upper Milford on December 25, 1779, 44 years of age, his life probably cut short by the trying experiences through which he had passed.

There is a letter of Wittner to the Lancaster congregation, preserved in the *Harbaugh Collection*, which has been assigned to the year 1775. However, it is certain that it was written sometime between September, 1769, when Hendel closed his ministry at Lancaster, and February, 1771, when Boehme began his. In the interval Wittner gave up Cocalico and was ready to serve another congregation. Hence in this letter he offered his services to Lancaster. Wittner's condition at Cocalico in 1770 fits exactly the description which he gives of it in this letter. He writes:

"My year in these congregations ended last month, [ministers were then serving on a yearly call] and I am thinking of accepting another service, since for a number of reasons I live here very miserably, must suffer many vexations, and, finally, because of the sectarian spirit prevailing here my work bears little fruit."

Wittner was not a shining light in the Coetus, but he attended to his work faithfully, in spite of trying conditions, and recorded with diligence and care his pastoral acts. His church records bear ample witness to that.

JOHN THEOBALD FABER, SR.

1739-1788

John Theobald Faber, Sr., was born February 13, 1739, at Zotzenheim, a village south of Bingen on the Rhine, formerly in the Palatinate but now in Rhenish Hessa. His father was the Rev. John Faber, pastor at Zotzenheim from 1730 to 1754. That is all that is known about the family, as the old church records at Zotzenheim were destroyed during the Napoleonic wars. On February 5, 1760, young Faber matriculated as student of philosophy and theology at the University of Heidelberg. His entry reads: "1760, Febr. 5th, Jonnaes Theobaldus Faber, Zozenheimensis, phil. et theol. stud." He was still at the university in 1762. (*See Toepke, Matrikel*, IV, 195).

His examination as a candidate for the ministry took place at Heidelberg on April 20, 1763. Three years later he left the Palatinate for Holland. At his departure he requested and received the following certificate:

"Inasmuch as the Consistory of the Electoral Palatinate has learned with pleasure that the Palatine candidate for the ministry, Faber of Zotzenheim, according to the commission given to him, intends to go to America as minister, therefore his petition, made to us yesterday, namely, that his eventual return to his fatherland might not be forbidden to him, is hereby not only granted, but on the contrary in such an event special regard shall be given to his advancement. In witness whereof the large seal of the Consistory's chancery and the usual signature has been affixed.

"Heidelberg, the 25th of April 1766.

Consistory of the Electoral Palatinate,
J. W. F. Hads, Antz."

Seal of the Consistory of the Palatinate.

(SEAL)

In May, 1766, three candidates for the ministry appeared before the Deputies of the Synods of South and North Holland and offered their services as missionaries to Pennsylvania. They were: Carolus Lange, of Innsbruck, in Tyrol; John George Wittner, of Bellheim, in the Palatinate; and John Theobald Faber, of Zotzenheim, in the Palatinate. They were examined by the Deputies in the Cloister Church, at The Hague. As part of their examination each candidate had to preach a sermon. That of Faber was based on I Cor. 6:11. The examination in Hebrew was on Psalm I, in Greek on II Tim. 2, followed by a longer examination in theology, lasting three hours. They gave such abundant proofs of their fitness that the Deputies did not hesitate to commission them on the same day for service in Pennsylvania. Each received 50*fl.* for traveling expenses to Holland, and 200*fl.* for traveling expenses to Pennsylvania. As two of the men, Wittner and Faber, had been ordained by the Upper Consistory of the Palatinate, Mr. Lange alone was ordained, with a German sermon, preached by the president, Mr. Cremer. The last act in the ceremony was the signing of the Formulas of Unity. Their ship, "Catharine," captain Nathanael Lorentz, left Rotterdam on June 10, 1766, landing the three missionaries at New York on September 10, 1766.

On his arrival in Philadelphia, Mr. Faber was assigned to New Goshenhoppen, Old Goshenhoppen, and Great Swamp. Before he left for his parish, he received the following letter from the Rev. John George Alsentz, pastor at Germantown:

"Very reverend and
much esteemed Sir:

"Germantown, the 10th of Sept. 1766.

"My heart is full of thanks to the faithful Father for His gracious guidance of your Reverence and your happy arrival in our vineyard. My heart rejoices and I congratulate myself because of the help that has reached us, which we so much need. I understand that you preached yesterday in Philadelphia and that you will come up to me next Sunday. I have accordingly informed Rev. Mr. Weyberg that I had announced a communion service and that you might choose a sermon suitable for the occasion. If that letter should have been delayed, I ask you herewith to take note of it. In addition I wish to ask you to notify me whether you prefer to preach in the forenoon or afternoon. This I may tell you in advance, that in the morning the church will be well filled, because many people live far away. Hence it is the best service for a strange minister to be heard. Besides, I ask you to inform me whether you are a Mr. Faber from Zozenheim and what the names of the other gentlemen are.

I remain very respectfully
Your Reverence's faithful servant,
Jo. Geo. Alsentz.

P.S. More orally. Please attribute my brevity to my ill health."

Faber preached his first sermon at Goshenhoppen on October 12, 1766. He himself gives that date in his family Bible. On October 21, 1766, he performed his first pastoral act, officiating at a funeral at New Goshenhoppen. He made his home at first with David Hiester, one of his prominent members at Old Goshenhoppen. On February 29, 1769, £1.12.10 was paid by the Great Swamp congregation as "house rent for the minister at Daniel Hiester." This remained his place of residence, probably, till he married, on August 7, 1770, Barbara Roos, daughter of Erhardt Roos of Reading.

At the Coetus of September 8-9, 1768, at Easton, Faber reported 30 families at Old Goshenhoppen, 90 at New Goshenhoppen, and 30 at Great Swamp. These figures gradually increased till 1779, when he had 270 families in his charge. The success of Faber in his ministry at Goshenhoppen is indicated by the fact that two new churches were built during his pastorate. In 1769 the corner-stone of a large stone church, equipped with an organ by the well-known organ-builder David Tannenberg, was laid in New Goshenhoppen. The church was completed in 1770. At Great Swamp a new church was built in 1772. In the same year a new parsonage was completed at New Goshenhoppen.

Faber was honored by the Coetus in being elected secretary in 1771 and president in 1772. His ability as a preacher was recognized by other congregations besides his own. When, in 1769, Lancaster became vacant through the removal of Mr. Hendel, he was given a call, but declined it. In 1775, when Lancaster was again vacant, because its pastor, Rev. Charles L. Boehme, had gone to Hanover, York County, Faber was called again, but "could not decide to leave his congregations." In 1779, when Helffenstein left Lancaster, a third call was extended to Faber by this congregation. It reads as follows:

"Reverend Sir:—

"Lancaster, Aug. 30, 1779.

"It is without doubt already known to your Reverence that the Rev. Mr. Helffenstein has left our congregation for some time past. In order, therefore, to obtain another pastor, the congregation assembled yesterday in the schoolhouse; on which occasion your Reverence was unanimously elected. If you will, then, have the goodness to visit us and preach for us, we will be very thankful. The Consistory, accordingly, resolved, with the consent of the congregation, to send the bearer, William Jacob Schaeffer, to wait upon you and urge upon you our call. Should you consent to preach for us a trial sermon, on some day of your own choosing, we will then be fully prepared to extend to you the proper call. To this end, Mr. William Jacob Schaeffer is authorized to confer with you in detail.

"Meanwhile we remain your Friends. Done in the name of the Consistory of the German Reformed Church,

Nicholas Job,

William Bush,

Ludwig Schell."

When this call was laid before Coetus, there was also a strong protest by his congregations, asking Coetus to allow Faber to remain with them, but in spite of it Faber accepted the call. Coetus explained that "his congregations did not give him the necessary support, which they were sufficiently able to do."

At Lancaster Faber began his pastoral activity in November 1779. His first baptism there is dated November 14, 1779. His charge included Lancaster and Pequea, now New Providence, in Strasburg Township. His ministry in these two congregations was uneventful. He stayed with them only three years. His last baptism at Lancaster is dated July 8, 1782. He recorded at Lancaster 241 baptisms, 122 marriages, and 63 burials. It looks as if the city air did not agree with him; he longed for the quiet life of a rural community. Hence, when a call from the Tohickon Charge, Bucks County, was extended to him in 1782, he accepted it. The Coetus minutes of 1783 note that Faber had left Lancaster and accepted Indianfield, Tohickon, and the Trumbauer's Church. On July 28, 1782, Faber made his first entry in the Tohickon church record. He remained in this charge for four years. His last baptism at Tohickon took place on April 23, 1786. The minutes of the Coetus of May, 1786, report that Faber had returned to his former congregations, Old and New Goshenhoppen, and Great Swamp. Apparently he was happy to get back to his first friends. Dr. Weiser preserves (*Monograph*, p. 74) a story, that on his return his parishioners had gathered in the parsonage to welcome him.

"When nearing the premises, he stood up in a large wagon and with uncovered head cried out: "Ihr Goshenhoppener. Ich varlass euch in meinem Leben nicht mehr. Hier will ich leben und sterben."

The reunion was a happy one and brought satisfaction to pastor and people. In 1787 Faber reported 230 families in his three congregations, 76 baptized, 93 confirmed, and 78 scholars in his schools. Unfortunately his second ministry at Goshenhoppen was of short duration, barely two and a half years. His death was sudden and unexpected. In the *Lancaster Zeitung* of November 26, 1788, appeared the following account, written by the Rev. Abraham Blumer and inserted into the newspaper by the Rev. Wm. Hendel of Lancaster:¹

"The Rev. Mr. Faber went last Sunday [Nov. 2], apparently well, to the church at New Goshenhoppen, to hold services there. To the surprise of the schoolmaster and many members, he announced the well-known funeral hymn: 'Ach lehre mich bedenken' [*O Lord, cause me to remember*]. Then he read the Sunday Gospel [Matth. 9:18-26] and began to preach from it. He dwelt with special emphasis on the comforting

¹ See letter of Mr. Hendel to Blumer, dated Nov. 17, 1788, at Hist. Society.

words: 'The damsel is not dead, but sleepeth.' When he had finished the first part of his sermon and had hardly proceeded to the second, he stopped and seemed to faint. The officers of the church hastened to his assistance and carried him from the pulpit to a bed in the schoolhouse, where he passed away after forty-five minutes, in the 49th year of his life. General consternation and sorrow spread over the congregation.

"Last Tuesday, he was buried in the same church, under the pulpit. Together with several neighboring ministers, a very large and representative gathering of all denominations followed his coffin. The Rev. A. Blumer delivered on this occasion an impressive and edifying sermon from Hebr. 13:17. The congregations, which had been under his ministrations, mourn with the deeply afflicted family the painful loss of a husband, father and teacher."

The Rev. Daniel Weiser placed a memorial tablet over his remains, with a German inscription which may be translated as follows:

"Step softly.
Here rests the
REV. JOHN THEOBALD FABER
of late pastor of
this congregation.
Born February 13th, 1739.
Died November 2nd, 1788.
His age 49 years, 8 months and 18 days."

CAROLUS (CHARLES) LANGE

1731- ?

The birthplace of Carolus Lange was not known until the minutes of the Deputies of the Synods of Holland became accessible to American historians. There Carolus Lange is introduced, in May 1766, as "Oenipontanus, Tyrolensis," which means that he came from Innsbruck, in Tyrol. A letter addressed to the "Katholische Pfarramt" at Innsbruck brought on June 19, 1923, the following information:

"On February 14, 1731, there was born to John Matthias Lang, J.V.B., Imperial Notary, and his wife Maria Theresia, nee Fritscher, a son, named Franciscus Carolus Valentinus Maria, and was baptized by the Rev. Prof. Nicolaus Valent. Wille, D.D.; sponsor, Franz Karl Brunner, citizen and merchant." The pastor adds: "No other Carolus Lange could be found about that time, 1720-1750." We can hardly doubt that this

child was identical with the later Carolus Lange who appeared before the Deputies in 1766.

On July 2, 1765, Lange wrote a Latin letter from Chur, Switzerland, to Deputy Cremer, German Reformed pastor at The Hague, which was laid before the Deputies in September, 1765. He stated that he had read the appeal of Michael Schlatter, of the church of Philadelphia, and as a result was willing to offer his services for Pennsylvania. Another letter was written by him on October 16, 1765. He was provisionally accepted, and promised that he would come to Holland the following spring. He appeared before the Deputies April 18, 1766, with a number of excellent testimonials: three from three professors of Basel University; one from H. R. Merian, minister at Basel; one, an act of admission to the ministry, signed by the professors and pastors at Basel; one from the professors and pastors at Haldenstein Seminary, where he had acted for one year as teacher; and two from the magistrates and ministers at Chur. Haldenstein is a village in the neighborhood of Chur.

The examination of Lange was postponed, because his wife and child had not yet arrived in Holland, and also because two other candidates, Messrs. Wittner and Faber, were not yet ready to be examined with him. When they arrived, the examination was held on the above date, and all passed to the satisfaction of the examiners. "They gave so many evidences of expertness that Deputies assign them all to the Pennsylvania churches, with an earnest admonition to exercise themselves more and more in those things belonging to the minister's office, in order to become capable instruments for the benefit of those congregations to which they were assigned. Deputies having no objections to the ordination, Deputy Cremer read to them the form of ordination, in German, and caused them to reply. The hands of the Deputies were laid on Rev. Mr. Lange alone, since on the other two that ceremony had already been performed in the fatherland."

Each Candidate was given fifty guilders after the examination and 200*fl.* more at their departure. Mr. Lange, as he was accompanied by his wife and a child, received an extra allowance of 150 guilders.

On his arrival in Pennsylvania, in September 1766, he was assigned to Frederick, Md., where Mr. Wm. Otterbein had been pastor from November, 1760, to October, 1765. Lange entered his first baptism at Frederick on October 17, 1766. From that date to June 19, 1768, he entered 81 baptisms, 35 marriages, and a series of confirmations. The last are peculiarly interesting, because they cover several missionary visits to Virginia, about whose early churches little is known.

The first visit took place in August, 1767. On August 2 Lange confirmed, across the Potomac, at George Schumacher's (home), 13 cate-

chumens, while 35 members were present at the communion service. This place is now the Reformed Church at Lovettsville, Loudon County, Virginia. (*Pennsylvania German*, IX, 131).

On August 30, 1767, Lange confirmed at Strasburg, or Stauffers-town, 12 catechumens and administered the Lord's Supper to 55 members.

The second visit took place in November, 1767. On November 8 Lange confirmed 13 catechumens and administered the Lord's Supper to 36 members at the South Fork, in Virginia. This is, according to the late General John E. Roller, of Harrisonburg, Va., "not far from the historical place, known as Fort Seyberts, in the northern part of Pendleton County, West Virginia."

On November 10, 1767, four persons were confirmed and the Lord's Supper was administered to 26 persons, at "the South Branch, in Gapp." This place is identified by General Roller as "in Highland County, Virginia, eight or ten miles north of Monterey, the county seat, where Straight Creek empties into the South Branch, at the Gap."

On November 15 there were 17 confirmed and the Lord's Supper was administered to 34 at the "South Branch, in the Upper Tract." The upper tract is a valley in Pendleton County, West Virginia.

On November 22 there were present at the Peaked Mountain, in the lower church, besides 31 newly confirmed, 61 communicants.

In April, 1768, Lange made a third visit to Virginia. On April 10, at Millerstown, now Woodstock, he confirmed 11 catechumens. On April 17 he confirmed at Roether's, now Rader's Church, near Timberville, Va., six persons. On May 1, at the South Branch, in the Upper Tract, he confirmed George Geil, a married man. And on May 9, 1768, he confirmed five catechumens at the Peaked Mountain, upper church, now at McGaheysville. This is a total of nine Reformed congregations that were in existence in Virginia and West Virginia in 1767 and 1768.

At the meeting of the Coetus at Lancaster, September 16-17, 1767, charges were brought against Lange. He had quarrels with a part of his congregation about prayer-meetings, had forbidden Mr. Otterbein to preach in the church, and had used improper and objectionable language. Coetus advised him to look for another congregation as soon as possible. At the Coetus of 1768 the Frederick congregation complained about the great confusion into which Lange had brought the church; and that, because of his departure, the church had become vacant. For that reason they asked for a "prudent and faithful pastor."

At the Coetus of 1769 it was reported that Lange had gone to Virginia and was preaching there to scattered Reformed congregations, but a letter from them stated that he had scandalized the people by his administration

of the sacraments; from him personally the Coetus had heard nothing. Hence they concluded that they would have to count him among the lost brethren.

On October 21, 1768, Charles Lange bought twenty acres of land from James Johnson for £90, "at the head of Fort Run." The bond was assigned by James Johnson to John Thomas, who brought suit. Lange was living in Augusta County in January 1770, but was "not an inhabitant of the colony" on June 15, 1770, when the suit was instituted. The decree to sell the land was entered November 29, 1770, when Lange was no longer in the colony. He is called in the bond a "Reformed minister." These facts were communicated to the writer by the late Charles E. Kemper.

JOHN CONRAD BUCHER

1730-1780

John Conrad Bucher was born at Schaffhausen Switzerland, on June 13, 1730. This is the date according to the MS. genealogy of all the Schaffhausen families, though his tombstone and Dr. Harbaugh give June 10 as the date. He was descended from a distinguished family, which for at least six generations had been citizens of Schaffhausen. His father, John Jacob Bucher, was married December 13, 1725, to Anna Dorothea Burgauer. He rose to the position of Landvogt, or Governor, of Neunkirch in 1745. There were six children in the family, of whom John Conrad was the third.

New light has been shed in recent years on the European life of Conrad Bucher by an album in which his friends inscribed their names and good wishes. It was partially published by the Pennsylvania German Society, in its *Proceedings*, Vol. V. According to this album Bucher completed his studies at the gymnasium or college of his native city in 1750. In 1751 he was in Schaffhausen, for during that year twenty-seven entries in his album were made by students, pastors, and candidates for the ministry, the last, dated December 31, 1751, signed by John Pfister, head of the cantonal government.

In the year 1752 Bucher spent six months at St. Gall, where, according to the record of Dr. Wegelin, Professor of Theology, "he was a faithful and diligent attendant upon his lectures for the space of six months." From St. Gall Bucher returned to Schaffhausen, for, on June 27th, 29th, and July 1st, entries were made in his album at Schaffhausen, the last by

his sister on the eve of his departure for the place of his study, the University of Marburg. On his way he passed through Basel, where on July 5, 1752, John Bucher, doubtless a relative and student in the university, wrote in his album. He reached Marburg on July 14, 1752, for we find that on that day he entered his name in the matriculation book of the university:

"1752, 14. Julii. Joh. Conrad Bucher. Scaphusa, Helvet."

Bucher stayed at Marburg from July, 1752 to April, 1755. Forty-seven entries in his album, chiefly from fellow-students and some from his professors, testify to his presence and study at Marburg. One from Fr. Ulric Ries, D.D., of the Theological Faculty, calls him "an esteemed auditor of several years standing." Entries made at Namur, Belgium, where Dutch troops were stationed—the first on July 19, 1754—seem to imply either a number of short visits or a long stay at Namur. On April 7, 1755, he was back in Marburg. Shortly afterwards we find him at Namur again, for entries dated April 25, May 15, and June 25, 1755, were made at Namur. Two of the entries were by Swiss officers serving with the garrison at Namur, L. Peyer and Fr. Peyer im Hoff. They were relatives of John Conrad im Hoff, who later married Bucher's sister, Maria Elizabeth.

It may be that through these friends Bucher was introduced to the life of a soldier, for soon afterwards we find him in the military services of Holland.

One of his later fellow-ministers, John Christian Stahlschmidt, continues the story of Bucher's life in his autobiography, published in 1799. Writing of the year 1773 he states:

"The Reformed preacher here (Lebanon) is a Swiss by birth, who in the Seven Years' War (1755–1762) was a lieutenant in the American provincial army. He had studied theology in his youth, but left his school for the military service of Holland. Since well-trained officers were lacking when the provincial troops were organized, the English offered service to Dutch officers by raising their rank. As a result many were, very naturally, attracted to take service with the English. In this way he as well as the judge (Judge John Philip de Haas), who had been major, came to America."

The time of his arrival in America is uncertain. Dr. Harbaugh (*Fathers*, II, 111) gives the year 1755. But that seems improbable in view of the entries in his album. It more likely was 1756, as given by Dr. Porter, or perhaps 1757. The first trace of Bucher in Pennsylvania appears in 1758.

On April 1, 1758, Conrad Bucher was commissioned ensign in the 13th Company of the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment. The regiment consisted of three battalions; the Honorable William Denny,

Esq., Lieutenant Governor of the Province, was its commanding officer. The First Battalion was commanded by Colonel Armstrong.

In his capacity as ensign Bucher took part in the expedition of General Forbes against Fort Duquesne in 1758. The Pennsylvania contingent consisted of 2800 men. When the expedition was terminated, in the fall 1758, the provincial troops were discharged, with the exception of 150 men who were stationed in the frontier forts. Bucher was at Fort Louther, at Carlisle. In 1759 and 1760 he was in charge of the garrison at Carlisle and acted as recruiting officer. The *Pennsylvania Archives* give a list of the officers who served with the three battalions of the Pennsylvania Regiment in 1758 and 1759. With Bucher's name is a note, "joined Col. Francis," which means that he had been transferred to the Second Battalion. On April 19, 1760, Bucher was commissioned lieutenant. The original commission is still preserved among the Bucher papers at Harrisburg.

On June 12, 1760, General Horatio Gates issued an order which placed Bucher "in command of the King's stores, stationed at Carlisle." Several later orders are in existence, which commanded him to perform various services. Thus, for example, on June 12, 1761, he was appointed to serve as wagon-master at Fort Pitt, "take charge of all the horses bought or engaged at said works."

In 1763 and 1764 Bucher took part in the war that is known as Pontiac's Conspiracy. The *Pennsylvania Archives* contain a list of the officers who served with the battalions of the Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by the Hon. J. Penn, Esqr., 1764. In the Second Battalion, in the company of Captain James Piper, appears "Lieutenant Conrad Bucher, July 15, 1763." On August 5, 1763, the bloody battle of Bushy Run was fought, in which the company of Bucher took part.

Later in the same year an expedition was organized under Captain Armstrong, fitted out at Fort Shirley in Huntington County, to drive out the Indians, who had collected on Great Island in the Susquehanna river, below the present city of Lockport. Lieutenant Bucher acted as adjutant in this expedition. The Indians withdrew before the whites approached. A part of the colonial troops remained on the island as late as November, when the captured stores were sold. Bucher acted as clerk on that occasion.

In 1764 General Bouquet's great expedition to the Muskingum river in Ohio was undertaken, to subjugate the red men. The place of the rendezvous was Carlisle. The Second Battalion took part also in this expedition. On July 12, 1764, Bucher was promoted to the rank of adjutant, in which capacity he had previously served. Another promotion quickly followed, for on July 31, 1764, he was made captain. The com-

missions bestowing these appointments are among the Bucher papers at Harrisburg. When the war ended Captain Bucher resigned from the army, in the spring of 1765.

When the War of the Revolution broke out Bucher accepted a chaplaincy in the "German Regiment," so called because it was composed of soldiers from the German counties of Pennsylvania.

Among the Bucher papers is an order of Baron Von Arnt, Colonel of the German Regiment, ordering his "Highly Honored Sir Chaplain" to rejoin the regiment without further delay, or to resign his commission. It is dated May 4, 1777. The probability is that Bucher resigned, as he was sick at that time. However, some years later we find him holding another chaplaincy. In a "Roll of the Officers of the Second Battalion of the Lancaster County Militia, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Edwards, 1780," there appears as chaplain "Rev. Conrad Bucher, May 16, 1780." That ended his military career, as he died a few months later.

While stationed at Carlisle Bucher began to officiate as a minister. Among the Bucher papers at Harrisburg is a small, paper-covered manuscript, which contains his baptisms and marriages. The baptisms begin April 17, 1763, and continue to January 16, 1769. The marriages begin March 2, 1763, and extend to April 25, 1769. A number of sermon outlines have also been preserved. The earliest sermon is dated March 20, 1763, Carlisle. Another bears date May 23, 1763, preached at Carlisle from the text Joel 2:28.

From his baptismal record we learn that he supplied the following congregations regularly: Carlisle, 1763-1768; Middletown, 1765-68; Hummelstown, 1765-68; and Falling Spring, now Chambersburg, 1765-68. Probably in all these congregations Bucher was the first pastor. Occasional preaching services extended farther westward, embracing Bedford, near Fort Cumberland, Restone (Brownsville), Big Crossings of the Youghiogheny, and Fort Pitt. Nearer congregations were Shippentown (Shippensburg), On the Susquehanna, Sharpsborough, and Coxtown.

On blank leaves inserted into a pocket almanac of the year 1768 we find a record of his preaching appointments that gives us an insight into his wide and indefatigable missionary activity. For January and February, 1768, these preaching appointments were as follows: "1768, Jan. 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, Carlisle; 8th, Quitopahilla; 9th, 10th, Lebanon; 11th, Heidelberg; 12th, White Oaks; 17th, Carlisle; 24th, Falling Spring; 29th, Quitopahilla; 31st, Carlisle; Febr. 1, Heidelberg; 2nd, White Oaks; 3rd, Rapho; 7th, Hummelstown and Middletown; 8th, Blasers; 9th, Maytown; 14th, Carlisle; 21st, Falling Spring; 26th, Jonestown & Klopp's; 27th, Camerlin (Kimmerlings); 28th, Lebanon & Quitopahilla; 29th, Schafferstown."

In 1765 Carlisle and neighboring congregations appeared before the Coetus with a request to have Bucher examined and ordained. Coetus took a year to investigate the character and conduct of the young preacher. In the following year the congregations renewed their request and then Coetus laid their petition before the Fathers in Holland. The minutes refer (p. 244) to Bucher as a person who "providentially appeared, made willing by the Lord to serve them, who devotes himself with all diligence to learn the truth and to expound it to others, and is also content to share the poverty of his hearers." In response to this request the Deputies of the Synods consented to the ordination of Bucher, in a letter dated June 26, 1767. As a result, Bucher was ordained by Coetus, probably in the fall of 1767. In the minutes of 1767 (p. 258) it is noted that Bucher served at that time Carlisle, Donegal, Lebanon, and Maytown. As we know from his diary, these were but a few of the congregations he really served.

We have already referred to the call which the congregations of Lebanon, Quitpahilla, Heidelberg, White Oaks, and Rapho presented "through some delegates" for Bucher in 1768. But, when the congregations of Carlisle and neighborhood represented "the great distress to which they would be reduced by Bucher's departure," it was left by Coetus "to the conscience and wisdom" of Bucher to decide which congregations he wished to serve. He evidently solved the difficulty by preaching, at least for a time, to all these congregations, as often as time and strength would permit, which was usually once a month to each.

At Lebanon his regular entries begin on July 19, 1769, when he baptized his own daughter, Anna Dorothea, on which occasion Major (later General) J. Philip De Haas, his comrade in arms, acted as sponsor. He removed to Lebanon (from Carlisle) about this time, for in September, 1769, the minutes of Coetus state that he resided with his family in Lebanon. His diary of 1771 furnishes evidence that by that time he had definitely given up his first congregations in Cumberland County and was confining himself to the five congregations which had asked for his services in 1768.

At Lebanon Bucher baptized, from July, 1769, to July, 1780, 336 children. In his other congregations, which were smaller, the number of baptisms was considerably less. At Swatara we find 166 baptisms, extending from April, 1770, to March, 1780. At Quitpahilla only forty baptisms were entered between May, 1772, and September, 1779. During his stay at Lebanon the church yard was enclosed by a wall, in 1773. The parochial school appeared for the first time, with John Reuter, schoolmaster. Bucher served from four to six congregations, with 150 to 160 families in all of them. His salary was £85 in 1771. As a member of

Coetus he faithfully attended its meetings and made his annual reports. In 1775 the Coetus of Pennsylvania met at Lebanon, Rev. Fred. Dalliker, president. In 1776 and 1779 he was absent from Coetus because of sickness. In the latter year Manheim and Rapho, which Bucher had served, united with White Oaks and Maytown in calling the Rev. John William Runkel as their pastor. Runkel was asked by Coetus to take charge of Donegal also. Bucher's health was evidently undermined and as a result he was relieved of some of his more distant congregations. He died suddenly from a heart attack in 1780, as a comparatively young man of fifty years. The Hebron Diary has the following entry regarding his death:

"August 16, 1780, in the afternoon Bro. Kohler arrived. Through him we heard that the Reformed minister Bucher, after solemnizing the marriage of a Reformed and of another couple at Millerstown (Annville), six miles from here, suddenly departed this life."

His body, laid reverently upon a bier, was carried by devout men upon their shoulders to Lebanon for burial. The tombstone in the churchyard bears the following inscription, of which we give an English translation:

Here rests in death the body of
CONRAD BUCHER
Minister for twelve years in Lebanon.
Born June 10th, 1730
He lived with his wife Magdalene 20 years.
They had eight children, four of whom
preceded him into eternity.
He died August 15th, 1780.
His glory-crowned age being 50 years, 2 months & 5 days.

JOHN CHRISTOPHER GOBRECHT

1738-1815

John Christopher Gobrecht was born October 11 and baptized October 18, 1733, at Angerstein, a village which is part of the parish of Bovenden, a short distance north of Goettingen, in what was then the kingdom but now is the province of Hannover. His father was Daniel Gobrecht, a cowherd, whose nine children are duly recorded in the Angerstein church record.¹ Nothing is known of his youth except that he was a weaver by trade. He arrived in Philadelphia September 11, 1753,

¹ According to letter of Superintendent Gottfried Smidt, of Bovenden, to the writer, dated Jan. 25, 1928.

"There is a congregation [Tohickon], much ruined by an adventurer [Hecker]. The good element had to withdraw and the other learned at last to realize its mistakes. These people come and desire aid from the Coetus and a regular minister. They cannot raise more than thirty pounds, and to unite the congregation with others is impracticable, because it is located quite out of the way, and the nearest congregation [Springfield] is still under the influence of the adventurer. We cannot call a minister, because of small salary; but there is a person [John C. Gobrecht], converted by God's Spirit, who has a good knowledge of theoretical and practical theology, is able to explain the principles of Holy Scripture, and is well qualified to build up a congregation through his example and preaching. He lived two year with a minister [J. G. Alsentz] in order to be better qualified. The said congregation hears this man, sees the difference between a sincere and well-instructed man and an adventurer. The congregation wants to call that person. He wishes to accommodate them, but not without the order of the Coetus. They appear before the Coetus with the request that we examine and ordain him. To send him to Holland is impracticable; the candidate dreads the sea-voyage; the congregation cannot wait so long, since the adventurer, who resides in the vicinity, still has and seeks adherents in the congregation, by which course new confusion and division would certainly arise. The person referred to above and his qualifications being known to us through personal contact, we have the best prospect of saving the congregation. What should Coetus in this case be allowed to do? These things are not fiction, but the real truth and nothing but the truth."

The Deputies of the Synods gave a reluctant consent to the ordination of Gobrecht, but demanded that in similar cases the permission of the Synods be obtained beforehand.

Gobrecht began his entries in the Tohickon record on October 12, 1766, prefixing them with the following heading: "The children whom I, John Christopher Gobrecht, Reformed minister in Bedminster township, have baptized. They are as follows, beginning October 12, 1766." According to Dr. Harbaugh (*Fathers*, 11, 146), Gobrecht was ordained in the Tohickon Church, September 28, 1766. From that date to December 9, 1770, he entered at Tohickon 112 baptisms. His charge included also Indian Creek, or Indianfield, as it is frequently called in the Coetus minutes. There he baptized 73 children from February, 1767, to September 23, 1770. As his entries in his account-book show, he received from Tohickon in 1770 £29.5.3 He never preached at Springfield.

During part of this time—at least from September, 1769, to September, 1770—Gobrecht preached also at a congregation called Great Swamp in the minutes of Coetus (pp. 290, 301). But as Mr. Faber was

County. In Christ Church Gobrecht began his entries on February 12, 1780. In 1784 a constitution of twelve articles, drawn up by Gobrecht, was adopted and signed by 77 members of Christ Church. During the latter part of his ministry his son John acted as his assistant, from 1794 to 1801. In 1798 a new brick church was built at Conewago, and in the next year a similar church was erected at Hanover. One of his later successors, the Rev. John Ault, describes him as "a faithful pastor, who made it a rule to visit his families, if possible, at least once a year."

Gobrecht labored in this extensive field till 1806, when increasing infirmity of body compelled him to retire from the active ministry. He lived in retirement at Hanover, where he died November 6, 1815. He was buried in the cemetery of Immanuel's Reformed Church, Hanover. His tombstone bears a German inscription which may be translated as follows:

Here sleeps
Awaiting a happy resurrection the
REV. JOHN CHRISTOPHER GOBRECHT,
for many years a Reformed preacher.
Born in Germany
the 11th of October 1733.
Died the 6th of November 1815.
His age 82 years 3 weeks
and 5 days.

FREDERICK DAELLIKER (DELLIKER)

1738-1799

A number of erroneous statements have been current about Frederick Daelliker, which urgently need correction.

In the first place, the notion is widely current that the original name of the family was De la Cour, and that he was of Huguenot descent. This is absolutely impossible, for the genealogical records in Zurich show that the family settled in Zurich as early as 1401, long before there were Huguenots; and, secondly, the coat of arms of the family, also in the Zurich records, shows a man holding a burning candle in each of his outstretched hands. This coat of arms points to the meaning of this family name. It means "tallow (candle)-maker." This explanation is given under the name of Tälliker, which must be the original form of the name. No Huguenot family would adopt a coat of arms based on a German name. That should dispose of the first misstatement. To account for the tradition regarding the name De la Cour, it may be

supposed (although there is no contemporaneous evidence) that while in French services he adopted for the time being a French name.

Then there is confusion about the date of his birth. Dr. Harbaugh (*Fathers*, II, 132) reports the date as February 2, 1738. This date is contradicted by the inscription on his tombstone, which states that when he died on January 15, 1799, he was aged 60 years, 10 months, and 17 days. Here, however, we run into another complication. The Falkner Swamp Church record states that he died January 13th and was buried on January 15th, 1799. Both sources agree as to the age, but they differ as to the date of death. However, the entry in the church record was made, most likely, immediately after his burial; hence we conclude that it deserves the preference. If that is so, Daelliker was born February 25, 1738, as a simple calculation proves.

There is also some confusion and uncertainty as to the spelling of his surname. All the Swiss sources spell it Dalliker. He himself vacillates between Daelliker and Delliker. The latter spelling is used by him towards the end of his life. There is no reason to spell it with *ck*.

Frederick Daelliker was born, most likely, on February 25, 1738, but not in Zurich, as the Zurich records do not have his birth-date. His father was John Rudolf Dälliker, a famous painter, famous enough to have his biography recorded in the *Schweizerisch Kunstlexicon*, i.e., the "Swiss Lexicon of Art," Frauenfeld, 1905. He was born in Berlin in 1694 and died in Schaffhausen in 1769. He married, on March 23, 1732, Maria von Brunn, of Basel. In the same year he moved to Paris, where he studied under French masters. In 1746 he returned to Zurich, where, in 1750, he accepted the office of "Oberster Salzhaus Diener," which seems to mean Chief Administrator of the Salt Works. Domestic troubles caused him to leave Zurich again, going first to St. Gall and later to Schaffhausen, where he died. According to this outline of his father's life, it is possible that Frederick was born in Paris.

When we hear again of Daelliker, he has come to Holland, where he offered himself first to the Classis and then to the Deputies of the Synods for service in Pennsylvania. He was examined by the Deputies on June 25, 1767. He preached a sermon to the satisfaction of the examiners, from John 4:24, was then examined (in the Latin language) on the principal points of theology as well as in the Greek and Hebrew languages. All of these tests were passed satisfactorily, whereupon he signed the Formulas of Unity, received his commission and traveling expenses, and then left for Pennsylvania. According to Swiss records he landed at Boston.

It is not certain when he reached Philadelphia, but when the Coetus of Easton was held in September, 1768, he was serving five congrega-

tions in New Jersey; namely, Amwell, Alexandria, Rockaway, Fox Hill, and German Valley, which last four desired to be taken up into the fellowship of Coetus. Under his ministry the first church records of these congregations were opened: that of Rockaway (Lebanon) on November 6, 1768, the others in 1769. In 1769, when charges were brought against him at Amwell, he gave up that congregation, but continued to preach in the other congregations, which reported that they were well satisfied with him (*Minutes*, 285). He continued to serve these congregations till 1782, when he received a call from the Goshenhoppen Charge, which had become vacant through the removal of Ingold. In May, 1782, he informed Coetus that he had gone to Goshenhoppen "a few months ago." In harmony with this statement we find that his baptismal entries at New Goshenhoppen begin March 13, 1782; at Old Goshenhoppen on March 17, 1782; and at Great Swamp on March 10, 1782. On June 6, 1783, he signed a receipt for salary, received at Old Goshenhoppen, from February 1, 1782 to February 1, 1783. This fixes the beginning of his ministry as February 1, 1782. In May, 1782, he handed in the following report of his congregations and his pastoral activity: "170 families, 33 baptisms, 35 confirmed, and 3 schools." This is the first definite evidence that there was a parochial school in each of his three congregations.

At the Coetus of 1783, held in Philadelphia on May 14, 1783, he submitted a report that he was still supplying his former congregations in New Jersey—Rockaway, Valley, and Foxhill—as well as Nolton, Hartwick, and Newton. He must have been a very busy man to do that, as his main congregations in the Goshenhoppen region absorbed most of his attention. His pastoral activity in the Goshenhoppen charge, from March, 1782, to March, 1784, may be summed up as follows: 141 baptisms, 21 funerals, and 16 marriages.

When the Rev. Nicholas Pomp left Falkner Swamp and Vincent in the fall of 1783, Daelliker became his successor, in the spring of 1784. His first entry in the Falkner Swamp record was made April 9, 1784. At the meeting of Coetus held May 12, 1784, Daelliker reported having gone from Goshenhoppen to Falkner Swamp. He remained pastor at Falkner Swamp to the end of his life.

One of the notable events during his ministry was the dedication, on Sunday, June 6, 1790, of "a newly-built and very beautiful church." To celebrate this event properly Coetus met at Falkner Swamp, June 5-8, 1790. "The church was dedicated with devout prayer, by Do. Delliker, and two edifying sermons, before large audiences; one in the morning by Do. Hendel, and the other in the afternoon by Do. Blumer." On the next day Daelliker was elected president of Coetus, and Do. Pomp secretary.

The first burial which Daelliker entered in the record was that of his own wife, Maria Barbara, who died May 7, 1784, aged 38 years. He married as his second wife Maria Magdalena Juvenal, widow, of Philadelphia, on October 12, 1786. On June 8, 1794, he confirmed the largest class of catechumens, the first of whom was his son Frederick. His son William was confirmed May 22, 1796, and a daughter, Maria Catharine, was married to John Thomas on September 16, 1798. All these were entered by Daelliker himself in the Falkner Swamp record.

Daelliker was a prominent member of Coetus, being its secretary in 1774, 1783, 1786, 1788, 1789, and its president in 1775, 1787, 1790. In 1789 he had the honor, as secretary of Coetus, to send a congratulatory address to Washington, on his having been elected the first President of the United States, to which Washington most graciously replied.

Daelliker died January 13, 1799. The church record has the following entry regarding this event:

"On January 15th (1799) was buried the very Reverend Frederick Delliker, after having been for almost fifteen years the faithful pastor of this congregation. He died on the 13th, aged 60 years, 10 months, and 17 days."

His tombstone in the Falkner Swamp graveyard has a similar inscription. An old man who knew him personally described him to Dr. Joseph H. Dubbs as a "little, good-humored, red-faced man, with a shock of white hair."

CHRISTIAN FREDERICK FAEHRING (FOERING)

1736-1799

All that we know about the early life of Mr. Faehring we owe to the researches of Dr. Edward T. Corwin, the well-known historian of the Dutch Reformed Church (*see* Corwin, *Manual* p. 465f).

He is reported to have been born in Hannover, Germany, in 1736. Inquiries made in the city of Hannover received the reply: "No Frederick Faehring, born about 1736, can be found in the church records." What was meant by Hannover was, therefore, the Kingdom (now the province) of Hannover. According to tradition, as given by Dr. Corwin, after the death of his father, who died in the military service of his country, his mother, to save her son from military duty, tied the small boy of seven years to her back and, skating across the Rhine, escaped. They took passage to New York and finally settled in or near Philadelphia. As a young man he is said to have become a schoolmaster and afterwards to

have studied surveying, but God called him to be a minister. For some time he studied at Princeton College. On June 22, 1766, fifteen shillings were collected by the Plainfield congregation, near Easton, "for the student who studies at Princeton. The pastor, Frederick Lewis Henop, promised to deliver it to him." (Church Record, p. 201).

On September 8, 1768, Frederick Faehring appeared before the Coetus of Pennsylvania. He is said to have been at that time "a man thirty years of age." The minutes state further: "Deprived of his father during the early years of his life, he became an orphan and a servant of others. But God himself, in a special manner taking his father's place, directed him so that he applied whatever he earned in the sweat of his brow, with extraordinary and voluntary desire, to the study of languages and the truths which God has revealed for our salvation. With this desire he went to Princeton, where a college had been established. Through a teacher in this college he became acquainted with Mr. Du Bois, and through him with the members of Coetus. We felt compelled to aid this man according to our ability and each minister gave him something for maintenance and support, so that through God's grace he might attain his object. It is now more than three years that he has been receiving instruction, with good success, from Do. Alsentz, afterwards from Do. Weyberg, and at present from Do. Pomp, in languages and sciences, and now presents himself to Coetus for examination." He was given a preliminary examination, in which he satisfied his examiners very well. He was then recommended to the Fathers in Holland and another examination set for the following spring. (*Minutes*, 269f.). This second examination was held in the spring of 1769, when he was found well qualified; and, "according to their best judgment," they ordained him to the ministry, and assigned him to the congregations in Germantown, Whittapain, and Worcester, "which greatly desired him." In Germantown Faehring began his entries in the church record on April 9, 1769, at Whittapain on May 15th, and at Worcester on June 11, 1769.

At the Coetus held September 20-21, 1769, the said three congregations again presented "an urgent call to their beloved Frederick Fairing, of whom they give excellent testimony." Coetus unanimously resolved to confirm the call and ordered Faehring to continue as pastor of the three congregations. They expressed fear that the Fathers would not like their action, as they had not waited for their approval, but assured them that there was urgent necessity for taking such a step.

On November 24, 1769, Faehring was married by the Rev. Casper Weyberg to Margaret Mueller, daughter of Sebastian Mueller, a Reformed elder at Germantown. At the Coetus of 1770 the father brought complaint against Faehring, that he had eloped with his daughter. Coetus,

after investigating the case, concluded that "although Mr. Faehring had some cause for his action, yet the way in which he had entered into wedlock was very offensive and irregular. Mr. Faehring expressed regret and repentance and asked Coetus for forgiveness. With this Coetus was satisfied."

At the same meeting Coetus gave Mr. Faehring six pounds to pay a debt which he had contracted during his studies. He reported 52 families at Germantown, 15 at Whitpain, and 20 at Worcester. In 1771 he reported: at Germantown 70 families, at Whitpain 25, at Worcester 46.¹ In 1772 we learn that Faehring had also been supplying Frankford. But, having accepted a call from the German Reformed congregation at New York, he left the Coetus of Pennsylvania and joined the Dutch Reformed Coetus of New York. In October 1772, he was present at the meeting of the Dutch Coetus in New York.

He ministered at New York for two years (1772-74), when he accepted another call to the Dutch Reformed Church at Millstone, Somerset County, N. J., which he served to the end of his life. He was an eminently devout man, who labored sincerely to bring souls to know Jesus Christ. During the American Revolution he was an ardent patriot. He died March 29, 1779, from a cold, caught in escaping from a party of British sent out to capture him.

JACOB WEYMER (WEIMER)

1734-1790

Jacob Weymer was born in Germany in 1734. He arrived at Philadelphia on the ship "Janet," from Rotterdam, captain William Cunningham, and took the oath of allegiance October 7, 1751. It is almost certain that the "Jacob Weimer" who signed the oath on that date is identical with the later minister of that name, because, in the first place, the signature then written resembles closely that of the later pastor; and, secondly, because in 1768 he is said to have been a schoolmaster in this country for seventeen years (*Minutes*, 269).

We next hear of him at Longswamp, Berks County, where he opened the church record on December 6, 1762, with a long historical statement. The handwriting is clearly his. He writes:

"After this work [the building of the church] had been completed

¹ This corrects an obvious typographical error in the Coetus minutes.

to the honor of God and their own salvation, they appointed the honorable Mr. Frederick Casimer Miller, for the dedication of this house and accepted him as their minister, who served them for some time [1748-52]. But when he left them, they looked around for another shepherd and accepted the honorable Mr. Philip Jacob Michael as their minister. During his ministry, as well as that of the preceding pastor, Frederick Helwig acted as cantor or precentor, until the present time when this was written, and will continue to do so. When the last named minister had taken his departure, they accepted, about the middle of May, 1754, Mr. Rudolf Kitenweiler, who preached for the congregation for about seven and a half years. At this time Jacob Weimer appeared as schoolmaster.

"After the above-mentioned Kitenweiler could not gain his purpose, he left the congregation, although defiantly. Then the above-named Mr. Philip Jacob Michael was again accepted in the year 1762, who is at present pastor of the congregation. I have deemed it well, in the name of the congregation, to encourage our descendants from time to time to write in this church record the names of their elders, teachers, and ministers, so that their descendants may know whence they came and may not leave the Lord, because God desires that they shall do their affairs in order as well as in spirit and in truth."

After serving as schoolteacher for a goodly number of years, Weymer attracted the attention of the members of the Coetus of Pennsylvania. He is first introduced, in the minutes of 1768, as a man of forty years of age.¹ "He has led a quiet and godly life, having labored unweariedly for seventeen years in this province with catechizing, teaching school, and reading sermons to the edification of the people living on the borders, who are shepherdless, destitute, and impoverished by the Indian war. By means of these useful labors and through the special help of God, he has gained such a knowledge that he is able to expound the word of God, through his own mediation, according to the analogy of faith, and to apply it to the edification of souls; a man who has from all good people the testimony of an unfeigned simplicity and godliness. . . .

"This matter was fully considered by the whole Coetus . . . and, hoping for the kind forbearance of the Synods and Classis, it was resolved that Jacob Weimer be examined. This matter, was entrusted by Coetus to Dos. Pomp, Henop, and Gros." At the next session, on the following day, September 7, 1768, the committee reported that "Jacob Weimer gave his examiners a full and unexpected satisfaction in both dogmatic and practical theology." Weimer, together with another candidate, Mr. Faehring, was then commended to the Synods for favorable

¹ This was merely an estimate by the Secretary of Coetus.

consideration. The sad and destitute condition of the people on the borders of the province induced Coetus to go a step farther in the case of Jacob Weymer: "It was unanimously resolved to grant him ordination, and to commend him most strongly for favorable reception into the Coetus." The ordination must have taken place shortly afterwards. It was approved by the Deputies in a letter dated October 9, 1769.

In September, 1769, Jacob Weymer appeared at the Coetus of Germantown with an elder, "who gave a very good testimonial about him." At the same time he reported serving four congregations in Northampton County; namely, Heidelberg, Lynn, Lowhill, and Greenwich. In 1770 the congregations served by Weymer are enumerated as Heidelberg, Lynntown, Albany, Greenwich, and Lowhill. In 1771 they are given as: Organ Church, Jacob's Church, Rosenthal, and Dunkel's Church. These names are rather confusing and somewhat difficult to identify. After considerable investigation the following identifications can be offered: Heidelberg, near Saegersville, in Heidelberg Township, Lehigh County; Lynntown, or Organ Church, now Ebenezer, at New Tripoli; Jacob's, at Jacksonville, in Lynn Township; Rosenthal, New Bethel Church in Albany Township, Berks County; Dunkel's Church, in Greenwich Township, Berks County; and Lowhill, in Lowhill Township, Lehigh County. That is a total of six congregations, in Lehigh and Berks Counties.

In 1770 Weymer was given a call from Conococheaque, now St. Paul's near Clearspring, Md. But a quarrel had broken out there. Hence Messrs. Gros and Gobrecht were sent down to adjust the difficulties. After this had been successfully accomplished, and "when there was peace in the congregation," Weymer promised to accept the call with the approval of Coetus.

It is probable that Weymer went to his new field of labor towards the end of the year 1770, for the Coetal letter of December 7, 1770, states that "the delegates, Dos. Gobrecht and Gros, were through the favor of God, so fortunate as to restore peace at Conococheaque and Do. Weymer has accepted a call to preach there and is to receive a salary of about seventy pounds."

While pastor at Conococheaque and vicinity, Weymer engaged in considerable missionary activity. In 1771 he, together with Mr. Henop, visited five congregations in Virginia; namely, Lewis-Steffenstown, Staufferstown, Muellerstown, Winchester, and Roeder's. The following identifications are proposed: Lewis-Steffenstown stands for Stephens City, in Frederick Township, named after Lewis Stephens; Staufferstown for Strasburg, in Shenandoah County; Muellerstown for Woodstock, and Roeder's for Rader's Church, one mile west of Timberville, in Rockingham County. The visitors found these congregations in a "sad condition." But they

promised them that they would be visited as much as possible. Other visits of Weymer are recorded for 1773 and 1775.

According to the statistics of 1771 Weymer was preaching at Troxel's and Hagerstown, where there were 38 and 45 members respectively. He had baptized 70, confirmed 30. He received £60 as salary. In 1775, he preached to three united congregations in Conococheague. In 1785 his congregations are enumerated as: Hagerstown, Funkstown, Troxel's Church, and one across the Potomac. In 1789 he is credited with five congregations. There were numerous other churches which he supplied from time to time. It is claimed (*Historical Sketch of Zion Reformed Church, Chambersburg, Pa.*, [1911], p. 10) that he visited, as early as 1788 or 1789, at Chambersburg and preached, in the home of Nicholas Snider, to the Reformed people of that community. Dr. Harbaugh reports him preaching at Chambersburg in 1784 or 1785, but hardly at the organization of the congregation, because on May 1, 1780, a lot had been deeded to seven persons as trustees "for the building of a Calvinist church in Chambersburg." (*ibid.*, p. 11). That clearly implies the existence of a congregation in 1780. He preached also in Apple's Church, in Frederick Township, Md.; St. Paul's, near Clearspring; Baird's Church, near Cavetown; Besore's, near Waynesboro, where he preached for the first time on June 23, 1789, according to the church record; as well as at Grindstone Hill and Newcastle, in Pennsylvania. (Harbaugh, *Fathers*, 195).

There is an entry in the Hagerstown Church record regarding the death of Weymer: "Jacob Weimer, Reformed preacher, came to Hagerstown in 1770; he died May 12, 1790. His age 66 years." Also the minutes of the Coetus of June 7-8, 1790, record that "Do. Weymer, pastor at Hagerstown, a short time ago, finished the course of his life and entered into blessed rest. . . . He leaves a widow, but no children, behind him." He was buried in the Reformed cemetery at Hagerstown, but no tombstone marks his grave.

Weymer had been a faithful pastor, a good preacher, and an untiring missionary, who, although not prominent in the Coetus, was much beloved by all with whom he came in contact.

CHARLES LEWIS BOEHME

1738-1783

Charles Lewis Boehme matriculated at the University of Heidelberg, on November 22, 1755, as follows: "(1755) 22. Nov. Carolus

Ludovicus Boehme, Milbacensis, Palatinus, philos. cand." From this entry it was natural to infer that Boehme was born in Muehlbach, in the Palatinate. However, a letter addressed to the pastor at Muehlbach brought the fact that though his father, the Rev. Abdias Daniel Boehme, was pastor at Muehlbach from 1741 to 1778, the name of his son Charles Lewis appears only among the catechumens confirmed in 1754. In the years 1737-1741, Daniel Boehme was pastor at Hohensachsen, in the Palatinate. From the pastor at Hohensachsen came the following: "Charles Lewis Boehme was actually born at Hohensachsen in the year 1738. The baptismal entry was made August 20, 1738. It is not quite certain whether this is the date of baptism or the date of birth; but, as only one date is mentioned, it is more likely the baptismal date. The parents were Abdias Daniel Boehme, pastor loci, and his wife Marie Louise." The father had been born at Frankenthal. He matriculated at Heidelberg University September 18, 1726, as "Francothalensis." He died at Muehlbach March 26, 1784, as pastor emeritus, aged 76 years. Hence he had been born in 1708.

Mr. Boehme, Jr., appeared before the Deputies of the Synods at The Hague on August 22, 1770, together with Abraham Blumer. He had been officiating for some years as vicar at Bacharach and Hedesheim, near Kreuznach, in what is now the Rhineprovince. Both candidates, having been ordained, were commissioned as ministers for service in Pennsylvania on the above date. They then "subscribed to the Symbolic books of the Holland church, took the oath against simony, denounced the condemned sentiments of Prof. Roell and Dr. Becker, and promised to publish no theological books without previous examination and approval." They were given 100 *fl.* for their traveling expenses to Holland and were promised 150 *fl.* more at their departure for America.

Boehme, in company with Abraham Blumer, landed at New York in January, 1771, and at once proceeded to Philadelphia.¹ Upon his arrival in Philadelphia he was assigned provisionally to Lancaster, Pa. He opened his baptismal entries at Lancaster on February 24, 1771. From that date to July 24, 1775, Boehme entered 299 baptisms, 160 marriages, and 76 burials in the church record.

At the meeting of Coetus in 1771, we are informed that "since Mr. Boehm has conducted himself so well that not the least improper action can be charged against him in his life or in doctrine, and has won the undivided love and esteem of his congregation, therefore a call was presented in which the congregation requested that Mr. Boehm might be

¹ The coetal minutes of October, 1771, say that Do. Boehme "arrived here last fall"—an error of the secretary.

allowed to continue its minister in the future, which was approved by the Reverend Coetus."

At the same time the congregation at Pequea, (now the Reformed church at New Providence) ten miles from Lancaster, was added to his charge, at which place he was to preach once every fourth Sunday. At the same time Boehme reported that there were 150 members at Lancaster, that he had baptized 66, confirmed 54, and that there were 60 pupils in the parochial school; and that he received £80 as salary.

In the following year, on February 2, 1772, Boehme was married in Philadelphia, by the Rev. Casper Weyberg, to Maria Catharine Moser. Two of their children are entered in the Lancaster record. He was secretary of Coetus in 1772 and president in the following year. The minutes of 1772, which he wrote (the first minutes preserved in the Harbaugh Collection), are in a neat hand and carefully written.

At the Coetus of 1774 the congregations of Hanover, Silver Run, Christ Church (Littlestown), Abbottstown, and Bermudian desired a new minister and were given permission to extend a call to any regular minister of the Coetus. The call was extended to Boehme, who accepted it, in 1775.

At Emmanuel's Reformed Church at Hanover Boehme's entries begin on May 14, 1775, preceded by this heading: "The following children were baptized by me, Carl Ludwig Boehme,² at this time regular preacher here." From May, 1775, to June, 1779, Boehme entered 184 baptisms at Hanover. At Lower Bermudian, now in Latimore Township, Adams County, he entered 54 baptisms from July, 1775, to April 25, 1779. Similar entries were made by him in other congregations. The record at Abbottstown was begun by him and opened with a historical statement in which the beginning of his ministry in these congregations is definitely fixed as May, 1775.

In 1779 Boehme left Hanover and affiliated congregations to accept a call from the old congregation at Baltimore. This change was made without leaving any record in the Coetus minutes, due perhaps to the fact that there was no meeting of Coetus in 1780. The first pastoral act which he recorded at Baltimore was a wedding on July 28, 1779. In the same year the first constitution of the congregation was adopted, as drawn up by Boehme: "Fundamental articles on which the members of the Reformed congregation in Baltimore have united in the year 1779, on October 3." It was signed "Carl Ludwig Boehme." In 1782 Boehme reported 70 families in his congregation and that he had baptized 30 children.

² Boehme himself always wrote his name with a final *e*.

In the same year the minutes make the first reference to his physical infirmities—gout and epilepsy—which made him unable to perform his ministerial duties. The congregation was asked by Coetus to grant Mr. Boehme the necessary support for some time to come, but meanwhile they had the right to call another minister. But, as it was feared that the paying of two salaries would be too heavy a burden for the congregation to carry, the Fathers in Holland were asked to come to his help and to give something towards his support. The commissioners of the Classis of Amsterdam responded by granting Mr. Boehme 50 *fl.* “on account of his feebleness and poverty,” to which the Deputies of the Synods added also 50 *fl.*

Boehme died of epilepsy in a hospital at Philadelphia on July 4, 1783. He was buried in the Reformed cemetery at Philadelphia on July 5th, by the Rev. Casper Weyberg, who entered his burial in the church record.

From all evidence that we have about Mr. Boehme we must conclude that he was a conscientious as well as a talented man.

ABRAHAM BLUMER

1736–1822

Abraham Blumer was descended from a distinguished ministerial family in Switzerland. His grandfather, John Henry Blumer, born 1663, became pastor at Grabs, in the Canton of St. Gall. His father, John Jacob Blumer, 1700-1746, was pastor of Betschwanden and Grabs. He married, May 3, 1726, Salome Schindler, of Mollis. They had five sons, of whom Abraham was the youngest.

Late in life, about 1810, Abraham Blumer wrote a brief autobiography, which has been faithfully followed by all his biographers, because it is our only source for his life in Europe. The original is now in the Historical Society of the Reformed Church at Lancaster, Pa. Dr. Harbaugh, in his *Fathers* (II 197ff.), translated it almost literally and we also shall follow it.

Abraham Blumer was born December 14, 1736, old style, which is equivalent to December 25th of the modern calendar, at Grabs, in the county of Werdenberg, then in the Canton of Glarus, but now in St. Gall. When he had passed his early childhood, he was sent to the German school of his native town. At ten years of age he lost his father through death. His relatives having selected the ministry for him as his life work, he entered, a few years after his father's death, the Latin School, where

he studied Latin and other learned languages (Greek and Hebrew), as well as the necessary sciences. He was then ready for the university. On August 1, 1754, he matriculated at the University of Basel, where he spent two years in studying theology. On June 8, 1756, he was ordained and received into the ministry.

About a year later, on July 11, 1757, he received a call to serve as chaplain in the Swiss regiment Meyer, then in the royal Sardinian service, which office he filled for nine years and two months, till September, 1766. Among the Blumer papers is a list of 441 sermons he preached during his chaplaincy. From September 11, 1757, to April 9, 1758, he preached 32 sermons at Niceae (Nizza); from May 4, 1758, to April 20, 1760, 112 sermons at Jureae (Chieri); from May 15, 1760, to March 18, 1762, 119 sermons at Taurini (Turin); from April 1, 1762, to April 23, 1764, 64 sermons at Alexandriae (Alessandria); and from May 13, 1764, to September 21, 1766, 127 sermons at Tortonae (Tortona).

At the end of this period Blumer asked for and received his discharge from the army. From 1767 to 1770 he was vicar to a sickly minister and also private tutor to several young men.

Having at this time revived a desire, which he had felt in earlier years, to go to America, he undertook in the spring of 1770 the journey to Holland. He appeared before the Deputies of the Synods on August 22, 1770, with another candidate, the Rev. Charles Lewis Boehme. Their papers being very satisfactory, showing that they had been ordained, they were commissioned on the following day, without even a public examination. When they had signed "the Symbolical books," and had received their traveling expenses, 250 *fl.*, they were sent to the Classis of Amsterdam, where they appeared on August 27th. They left Amsterdam on September 6, 1770, on a long and wearisome sea voyage, which brought them to New York toward the end of January, 1771. Shortly afterwards they reached Philadelphia, where a number of Reformed ministers, assembled for that purpose, received them.

Mr. Blumer was assigned to Allentown, Jordan, Schlosser's Church (or Union), and Egypt, in Lehigh County. In that charge he labored uninterruptedly from February 17, 1771, till May 17, 1801, a period of thirty years and three months. He himself gives these dates in his autobiography.

One year after his settlement in the Whitehall Charge, namely, on February 25, 1772, he was married to Susanna Maria Frary, born in 1743. They had five children, two sons and three daughters, all of whom survived him. In October, 1771, Mr. Blumer attended the first Coetus that was held after his arrival in Pennsylvania. He reported at that time 38 members at Allentown, 18 at Jordan, 40 at Egypt, and 20 at Schlosser's,

a total of 116. His salary was £75. In course of time both the number of his members as well as his salary increased. In 1785 he had a total of 157 members and his salary was £100, and £20 as perquisites. He was secretary of Coetus in 1773 and 1784, and president in 1774 and 1785. In the latter year he purchased a tract of 195 acres along the Jordan Creek, at the present "iron bridge," on which he built a permanent home, which is still standing.

Mr. Blumer was a well-educated man, versed in German, French, English, and Dutch, among modern, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew among ancient languages. On July 11, 1774, the French Reformed Church in New York City sent him a call, in French, to become their pastor. He answered this letter on November 28, 1774, also in French, in which he expressed his pleasure at being thus honored by them, but explained that while he could speak French to some extent his knowledge of this language was not sufficient to enable him to preach in it.

After retiring from the active ministry he lived on his farm, but was frequently called upon by his former parishioners to officiate at baptisms, weddings, and funerals, because they were very much attached to him. It was during his pastorate at Zion's Church, Allentown, and no doubt with his knowledge and consent, that the Liberty Bell was concealed under the basement of this church, in September 1777. It was also during his pastorate that new stone churches were erected by the Allentown, Egypt, and Union congregations.

During the War of the Revolution pastor Blumer acted as chaplain of the First Battalion of the Northampton county militia. He died April 23, 1822, his age being 85 years and four months. He and his wife, who followed him in death in 1825, were buried in the old church yard of the Jordan Reformed church. During his ministry he baptized 2517 children and brought into the membership of the church, by confirmation, 1137 young people.

Mr. Blumer was an able leader in his Church, highly esteemed among his brethren, a good preacher, a devoted pastor, much loved and admired by his people. He did much to establish the Reformed Church upon firm foundations in Lehigh County.

JOHN HENRY HELFFRICH

1739-1810

John Henry Helffrich was born October 22 and baptized October 24, 1739, at Mosbach, in the Palatinate. His father was John Peter

Helffrich, saddler, and his mother Anna Margaret, nee Dietz. After the death of his father, his mother married the Rev. Peter Helffenstein, pastor at Sinsheim and inspector of the Deanery of Sinsheim, which comprised a number of congregations. To this marriage three children were born: John Conrad Albert, later pastor at Germantown; John Henry, pastor at Sinsheim, succeeding his father; and Dorothy Margaret, who married the Rev. D. M. Helffenstein of Schönau. Thus John Henry Helffrich was brought up in the family of his stepfather and in a thoroughly religious atmosphere.

As a boy John Henry attended the Latin School, and, when he had graduated from that, the University of Heidelberg, where he matriculated February 17, 1758. Three years later, on September 22, 1761, he passed his first examination, was licensed to preach, and was received as a candidate of theology. Under the supervision of his stepfather he preached for three and a half years at Sinsheim and Rohrbach, and then for seven years acted as vicar at Reyen, Kirchhard, and Steinfurth.

The needy condition of the Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania and their repeated requests to the Holland Fathers for ministers were well known in the Palatinate, perhaps from letters sent by the Deputies of the synods of Holland to the Upper Consistory of the Palatinate. So, probably early in 1771, Do. Helffinstein wrote, on behalf of his step-son, Mr. Helffrich, and his own son, John Conrad Albert, to the Classis of Amsterdam, offering the services of these two young men. What followed upon the receipt of his letter is told in the minutes of the Synodical Deputies. At their meeting on May 8, 1771, their president laid before them a letter written by Do. Ten Brink, secretary of the Commissioners of the Classis of Amsterdam on Pennsylvanica Affairs, "announcing that the Rev. Inspector Petrus Helffenstein, pastor at Sinsheim, had written to his Reverence, offering two candidates for service in Pennsylvania, of whom one is his step-son, John Henry Helffrich, 30½ years of age, who for seven years has been vicar, and the other his own son Albert Conrad Helffenstein, who is 23 years of age and has assisted him and other ministers for 3½ years.

"In the above mentioned letter the commissioners submit the question to us, whether these candidates are to be asked to come over and whether we are willing to bear half of their traveling expenses.

"Having deliberated upon this question, it was resolved, that the aforesaid commissioners shall be written, that the Deputies, in view of the continued solicitations from Pennsylvania for more ministers, and in the hope that the above-mentioned candidates prove good subjects, are indeed willing to cooperate as far as possible with them for their calling and sending them to Pennsylvania and because our funds will not admit

a larger outlay, we promise to contribute 100 dollars instead of 100 ricks-dollars, with the further request that we be informed of the arrival of these candidates."

On May 23, 1771, the two young men received their passports from the elector of the Palatinate, Carl Theodore. On June 5 they left Sinsheim, fortified with an official request from their father, Inspector Peter Helffenstein, to the customs officials along the Rhine, especially those of Mannheim and Düsseldorf, to let them and their baggage pass freely.

At the meeting of the Deputies held on July 1-6, 1771, Do. Kessler, of Amsterdam, reported that candidates Helffrich and Helffenstein had arrived. He asked that a time be set for their qualification, which was done for the morning of July 4. On that day they were duly qualified and given their commissions. That of John Henry Helffrich has survived. It is dated July 4, 1771. The Deputies promised to give each of them 150 *fl.* as traveling expenses, and asked that the commissioners of the Classis do likewise.

The two new ministers, accompanied by Mr. John Gebhart, who had in August been commissioned for service in America, left Amsterdam September 6, 1771, with the ship "Rising Sun," captain Arthur Helme. The journey was both long and tempestuous. They passed through severe storms and barely escaped two gigantic water-spouts. Helffrich has left a diary of the ocean trip, which gives the details of the journey.¹ They had hardly left Amsterdam harbor, when they ran into a sand-bank, from which they had to be pulled by a smaller ship. This bad luck, at the beginning of their journey, pursued them all the way over. It took eleven days to get from Amsterdam to New Castle, England. There they stayed nearly three weeks, till favorable winds allowed them to leave that harbor. But they had hardly passed into the English Channel, on October 6, when contrary winds and even a "terrific storm" overtook them. The "waves struck the ship so that it sounded like the roaring and rattling of cannons." They were carried out of their course close to Hamburg and it was the 25th of October before they reached Cowes, England. When they left, on October 31st, it was to pass through a succession of severe storms, contrary winds, or calms that permitted the captain and the sailors to take a swim in the ocean. Thus they continued for more than three months. Their food and water were getting perilously low, so that both had to be rationed. One day they caught a dolphin, "weighing between forty and fifty pounds, which was quite good." The frequent gigantic waves not only drenched the passengers and endangered their

¹ It was translated and published by the writer in the *Pennsylvania Magazine for History and Biography*, XXXVIII (1914), 65-82.

lives, but also drowned a lot of chickens and ducks which they had on board. On January 7, 1772, "the last hog, which we had kept for an emergency, was washed overboard." They were now suffering from hunger and thirst. At last, on January 13th, they saw a lighthouse and sailed close to a sand-bank, and, on the following day, January 14, at 8, they entered the harbor of New York, and at 2 P.M. landed. Thus they concluded a terrible experience, which had lasted four months and eight days.

In New York they called on the Rev. Dr. J. H. Livingston, pastor of the Dutch Reformed (now Collegiate) church, who gave them directions for Pennsylvania. Having arrived in Philadelphia, the three new ministers were sent provisionally to their fields of labor. Helffrich was assigned to Maxatawny (now Kutztown) and neighboring congregations. By the Coetus of 1772, held June 17-18, at Lancaster,

"Do. Helffrich was temporarily assigned to the congregation in Maxatawny, which up to that time had been vacant and was therefore greatly reduced in numbers. This was in accordance with a promise given them by the Reverend Coetus a year ago at Reading. . . . Since Do. Helffrich has thus far served this congregation, and the latter has been induced, on account of his worthy conduct, to present a call before this Coetus, therefore he was assigned by our Coetus to this congregation as its regular minister." At the same meeting of Coetus the congregations of Heidelberg and Lowhill asked to be supplied, and, as Do. Helffrich was their nearest minister, he was directed to supply them. In 1773 his charge consisted of Maxatawny, De Long's Church (now St. John's, at Bowers, Berks County), Heidelberg, and Lowhill.

On November 3, 1773, Mr. Helffrich was married to Maria Magdalena, daughter of Andrew Sassemanshausen and his wife Elizabeth Gertrude, who had settled at Maxatawny. This union was blessed with twelve children. His father-in-law, a well-to-do man, made over to him a farm of 100 acres, in Weissenburg Township. It was about in the centre of his large parish. Hence he left Kutztown and moved to Weissenburg, where he made his home to the end of his life.

Helffrich began the pastoral work in his congregations by installing new consistories, consisting of elders and deacons, in all his congregations. These church officers did not serve for definite terms, but, if they were successful and acceptable, for long periods, in some cases for life. Then he made his congregations promise to become subject to the Coetus of Pennsylvania, inasmuch as they had been independent before he assumed charge of them. When they became obstinate and wanted to act independently, he left them again. That happened, for example, at Longswamp, which he assumed charge of in 1774, but dropped in 1780, only

to serve again as its pastor from 1795 to 1810. In 1778 he took over the Ziegel Church (called Macunschy by Schlatter). Upper Milford came under his care in 1779, Trexlertown in 1784, and Lynn, also called Organ Church (now Jacob's at Jacksonville), in Lynn Township, in 1804. Thus, to his original congregations five others were added in course of time. Occasionally he would preach, on week days, at Moselem, in Berks County, and at Towamensing, across the Blue Mountains.

Mr. Helffrich, soon after his arrival, took a prominent part in the Coetus of Pennsylvania. He attended its meetings regularly, except in 1784. He was its secretary in 1776 and 1785, its president in 1777 and 1786. In 1785 he presented the most elaborate statistical report ever sent to Holland. In the Coetal letter of that year he first broached a most important subject, the establishment of a school of higher learning, in which young men might be prepared for the ministry. Although the Fathers in Holland frowned upon the idea, it foreshadowed the establishment of Franklin College in 1787.

Helffrich was also one of the leading spirits in the establishment of a widows' fund, first mentioned in 1773, of which he was for many years the punctilious secretary and treasurer. The constitution of the fund, written by him, together with an account of its status in 1787, is still preserved (*Minutes of Coetus*, p. 416f.). He was active on many important committees and wrote many outstanding reports. An elaborate pastoral report of his own congregations for the year 1792 is preserved in the Harbaugh Collection (*Minutes*, p. 452f.).

After having served the Reformed Church for fifty years, eleven in Germany and thirty-eight in Pennsylvania, he died on December 5, 1810. He had intended that day to visit the sick widow of his former Lutheran colleague, the Rev. Daniel Lehman (who had died October 2, 1810), and was in the act of mounting his horse when he suffered a stroke and sank to the ground. Members of the family carried him into the house and laid him on his bed, when he uttered his last words: "How well I lie here." He was buried in the private Sassemanshausen burial plot, at Maxatawny, the Rev. Abraham Blumer preaching the funeral sermon at the house and the Rev. Vander Slott speaking at the grave.

Dr. Harbaugh (*Fathers*, II, 248) describes Mr. Helffrich as "very punctual and prompt, consequently always reliable. He generally rode on horseback to his appointments and on his pastoral visits. No weather kept him back. He was decided, and yet mild; combining, in a remarkably happy manner, the authority and dignity of his office, with gentleness and mercy and open-hearted familiarity among his people."

Dr. Wm. A. Helffrich, in his *Geschichte verschiedener Gemeinden in Lecha und Berks Counties*, Allentown, [1891], p. 83, gives the following

description of his grandfather:

"Personally he was of middle stature, strongly built, without being fat. He had an open cheerful countenance, black hair, but was short-sighted, for which reason he always carried a lorgnette, tied to his button-hole. According to good German custom, smoking was his favorite habit. He raised the tobacco himself. When he sat in his study, comfort-giving, blue clouds from his meerschaum pipe, which he had brought from Germany, surrounded him. When he was riding on his pastoral errands, the pouch of tobacco hung on one side of his saddle, the meerschaum-pipe on the other, unless it was in his mouth."

Helffrich was a good preacher and a fine theologian. He wrote out his sermons, but he did not carry the manuscript into the pulpit. He spoke freely and clearly with a ringing voice.

JOHN CONRAD ALBERT HELFFENSTEIN

1748-1790

John Conrad Albert Helffenstein¹ was born at Mosbach, in the Palatinate, on February 16, 1748. His father was the Rev. John Peter Helffenstein, at first pastor of Mosbach and Obrigheim, later at Heidelberg and Sinsheim. He also held the office of Inspector of Sinsheim, which meant that he was superintendent, or dean, of a number of congregations. At present the deanery (Dekanat) of Sinsheim embraces seventeen congregations.²

His parents planted early in his heart a love of religion and gave their promising son an excellent education, so that without a further classical education than that he received under the guidance of his father he was able to enter the University of Heidelberg, matriculating there, May 7, 1764, as "Albertus Conradus Helffenstein, Mosbaco-Palatinus."

In May, 1771, the Rev. Inspector Petrus Helffenstein wrote a letter to the Rev. Ten Brink, secretary of the Classical Commissioners, offering for service in Pennsylvania his step-son, John Henry Helffrich, and his own son, Albert Conrad Helffenstein, 23 years of age, who had assisted him and other ministers as vicar for three and a half years. This letter was communicated to the Deputies of the synods, who accepted them provisionally and asked them to come to Holland. In July, 1771, they appeared before the Deputies, who on the 4th of that month duly ex-

¹ His name in the church record at Mosbach is given as John Albert Conrad. In this country he signed himself as Albertus. His sons gave it as J. C. Albertus.

² See *Deutsches kirckliches Adressbuch*, 3rd ed. Berlin, 1937, p. 1019.

amined them and qualified them for service in Pennsylvania. Later, in August 1771, another candidate, John Gabriel Gebhard, joined them. The three men left Amsterdam September 6, 1771, on the ship "Rising Sun," captain Arthur Helme. After a long, dangerous, and tempestuous journey of more than four months they landed in New York on January 14, 1772. A diary of John Henry Helffrich gives many interesting details of the journey.³ On their arrival in New York City they called on the Rev. J. H. Livingston, who gave them directions for their journey to Pennsylvania. When they reached Philadelphia they were sent provisionally to their fields of labor.

Mr. Helffenstein was assigned to Germantown, now the Market Square Presbyterian Church, Germantown. In the consistory record of that congregation Helffenstein made the following entry (p. 58) :

"Divine Providence brought it about that I resolved in the year 1771, with the help of God, to undertake the important work in the vineyard of the Lord in Pennsylvania. Whereupon, with three [two] fellow-workers, I undertook the journey and after a very dangerous and difficult voyage of four months I arrived in this new world. And, since at that time the Rev. John⁴ Frederick Faering, then pastor here, had received a call from the congregation in New York, which he had accepted, almost at once I received and accepted a call from this congregation. The Lord of the vineyard bless the work of his servant, that it may redound to His honor and the well-being of the members of this congregation."

Albertus Helffenstein⁵
Mosbaco-Palatinus."

The baptisms of Helffenstein begin on April 10, 1772, and extend to January 21, 1776, a total of 115 baptisms. At the Coetus of 1772, held June 17-18, 1772, at Lancaster, the elders from Germantown brought in an excellent testimonial of his life and doctrine. Hence Coetus assigned him to the congregation as its regular minister. "The congregation promises 75 pounds Pennsylvania money." At the same meeting the congregation of Frankford (now the Presbyterian Church of Frankford) asked Coetus that Helffenstein be allowed to serve them also, every two weeks in the afternoon, which request was granted by the Coetus.

While pastor at Germantown, Helffenstein was married to Catharine Karcher, by the Rev. Casper Weyberg, on February 11, 1773. They had five sons and two daughters. Four of their sons entered the ministry.

On November 21, 1775, Helffenstein received a letter from the

³ See sketch of John Henry Helffrich in this volume.

⁴ A mistake; his first name was Christian.

⁵ This signature shows that the call name of Helffenstein was Albert.

Lancaster congregation, inquiring whether he would be willing to accept a call from them. On November 27 Helffenstein replied that it would be very difficult for him to leave his congregation, as his work had been blessed by the Lord and it would be difficult for Philadelphia to secure another pastor at once. However, since Lancaster needed a pastor badly, he would be willing to accept a call if it came to him with the unanimous vote of the congregation. The call was duly extended and accepted by Helffenstein. But, in another letter of December 27, 1775, he informed them that the dissatisfaction about his leaving Philadelphia was so great that he felt compelled to hurry his departure, and he asked them to send two wagons to Philadelphia on January 22-23, 1776, to take his furniture to Lancaster.

At Lancaster Helffenstein began his baptismal entries on January 26, 1776. During his stay at Lancaster the War of the Revolution broke out, in which Helffenstein's sympathies were entirely with the colonies. Some Hessian prisoners who had been captured at Trenton were in barracks in Lancaster. To them he preached repeatedly from very pointed texts. On one occasion he preached from Isaiah 52:2 "For thus saith the Lord, Ye have sold yourselves for nought, and shall be redeemed without money." At another time he discoursed on the words, "If the son make you free, ye shall be free indeed." The excitement caused by these sermons was so great that his friends had to see him home to protect him from possible attacks.

However, Helffenstein seems not to have been entirely happy at Lancaster. Hence, when in 1779 a call came to him from his former congregation in Germantown, he was glad to accept it. His last baptism at Lancaster was on July 18, 1779. Referring to his departure from Lancaster the minutes of 1781 state: "Mr. Helffenstein left Lancaster and took charge of his old congregation in Germantown, in the hope of having more fruit there."

In the Consistory record at Germantown Helffenstein has left the following statement:

"After I, A. Helffenstein, had been minister of this congregation for four years, Divine Providence brought it about that a call was sent to me by the congregation at Lancaster, which I accepted and served that congregation until the month of June in the year 1779. During that time wonderful things happened here in Germantown. The congregation secured indeed another minister, but there was lacking the necessary unity and mutual love on both sides. To this was added the unrest and sad consequences of the war, in that the British took possession of Philadelphia and neighboring districts, by which the church fell into complete decay."

Thus Helffenstein began his second pastorate at Germantown under

considerable handicaps. The church treasury was empty and the members of the congregation were scattered. Under his wise administration and successful leadership both were overcome in course of time. His pastorate in Germantown was uneventful, although his church and the country at large passed through far-reaching events.

His sermons were prepared with great care and delivered with such impressive eloquence that they became more or less a standard that other preachers tried to follow. His synodical sermons are said to have been peculiarly impressive. After his death two volumes of his sermons were published by his sons. The first, entitled *Eine Sammlung auserlesener Predigten von Seiner Hoch-Ehrwürden J. C. Albertus Helffenstein, ehemaligen Predigers in Germantown*, Carlisle, gedruckt bey Friedrich Sanne, 1810, pp. 434. The second, *Eine Sammlung auserlesener Predigten des Ehrw. J. C. Albert Helffenstein*, Chambersburg, 1835, pp. 294. This second collection contains a brief sketch of his life and is not identical with the first collection. The collection of 1810 was translated by Professor I. Daniel Rupp, *Collection of Choice Sermons*, printed at Carlisle, 1832, pp. 261.

Helffenstein died at Germantown, May 17, 1790, of consumption. He was survived by his widow and five sons. He left a will, dated April 29, 1790, and probated May 27, 1790, in which he mentions his wife, Anna Catharine, his sons, Samuel, John Philip, Charles, Jonathan and Albertus.

The Germantown Church record has the following account of his death: "On May 17, 1790, Mr. Albertus Helffenstein, faithful pastor of this congregation, was removed by death, and was buried on the 19th, aged 42 years, 3 months and some days. The Rev. Mr. Dallicker, pastor of Falkner Swamp, delivered an address, preceding the funeral, in this church, from Rev. 14:13."

He was buried in the Reformed Cemetery at Germantown, the Rev. Dr. J. H. C. Helmuth, his Lutheran colleague, preaching an impressive sermon at the grave, based on the text, II Samuel 1:26: "I am distressed for thee, my brother."

JOHN GABRIEL GEBHARD

1750-1826

John Nicholas Gabriel Gebhard (to give him his full baptismal name) was born February 2, 1750, at Walldorf,¹ in the Palatinate. His

¹ This is the correct, present-day spelling of the name.

father was the Rev. John Frederick Gebhard and his mother Johanna Wilhelmina, maiden name unknown. His sponsors at baptism were John Nichols Osterheld and John Gabriel Schaefer and their wives. The couple had three other children, whose births are duly recorded in the church record at Walldorf. In 1730 John Frederick Gebhard became pastor at Nussloch. On May 14, 1749, through a rescript of the ecclesiastical authorities, Walldorf was added and committed to his pastoral care. He remained there to the end of the year 1762. It is not known whether he died there at that time or moved to another parish.²

In January, 1768, "Nicholaus Gabriel Gebhard, Walldorfensis" matriculated at the University of Heidelberg. According to Dr. E. T. Corwin (*Manual*, p. 487) Gebhard studied also at the University of Utrecht, in Holland.

Gebhard appeared before the Commissioners of Amsterdam Classis July 5, 1771, as a candidate for Pennsylvania. But he was refused by them and as a result went to the Classis of Utrecht, by which he was examined August 13, 1771. After that he appeared before the Deputies of the Synods at The Hague, August 20-22, 1771. Their minutes read:

"The meeting was opened with prayer by Deputy Cremer. He informed the Reverend Deputies that this meeting was called at the request of both the Commissioners for Pennsylvania affairs at Amsterdam and of Do. John Gebhard, who was examined by the Classis of Utrecht and had been provided with satisfactory testimonials, with the request that the above-named candidate be given a peremptory [final] examination and that he be sent to Pennsylvania, with his fellow-countrymen, who are ready to sail by the end of August.

"The certificate of the Classis of Utrecht granted to Do. Gebhard and the letter of the Commissioners of the Classis of Amsterdam relating to him having been read, he was admitted to the examination, after a preceding oral test.

"The examination was conducted by Do. Couperus. After the candidate had first given an exposition of Acts 26:28, to the satisfaction of the Deputies, and in addition had given many proofs of his fitness, both in the languages and in theology, he was commissioned for service in Pennsylvania and was ordained to that end.

"The letter of call to Pennsylvania was handed to the above-named ordained minister, and, after wishing him Godspeed and bidding him farewell, he was sent to Amsterdam, provided with a letter to the Commissioners for Pennsylvania affairs at Amsterdam."

Gebhard and his two colleagues, the Rev. John Henry Helffrich and

² Thus, according to a letter of the Rev. H. Hagmeier, pastor at Walldorf, to the writer, dated July 9, 1923.

his half-brother, John Conrad Albert Helffenstein, left Amsterdam on the ship "Rising Sun," captain Arthur Helme, on September 6, 1771.³ After a long and tempestuous journey, about which a diary of John Henry Helffrich is still preserved, they reached New York on January 14, 1772.

After their arrival in Pennsylvania, the Coetus of the Reformed Churches was held June 17-18, 1772, at Lancaster, when the three new ministers were sent to their respective congregations. The minutes state:

"Do. Gebhard, who at his arrival was engaged by the congregation at Worcester, or Skippack, and Witpen (which had been served thus far by Do. Faehring), was also assigned to these congregations, which had given him a call and very excellent testimonials. The congregation promises 60 pounds Pennsylvania money [as his salary]." At the same time Coetus passed the following resolution, fearing that the two congregations alone would be too weak to support their pastor:

"*Resolved:* The congregation at Trappe shall again unite with Worcester and Witpen, and recognize and accept Do. Gebhard as its minister, and also contribute according to its ability to his temporal support and the salary promised. To this end Brother Leydich shall give up this congregation."

At Worcester, now Wentz's Church, in Worcester Township, (which was a continuation of the old Skippack Church), Dr. Gebhard began his baptismal entries on April 19, 1772. He entered a total of 43 baptisms, the last on August 14, 1774.

On June 3, 1773, "Gabriel Gebhardt, minister," was married to Maria Gerber, by the Rev. Casper Weyberg of Philadelphia. (*Philadelphia Record*, I, 132).

At Witpen, now Boehm's Church at Blue Bell, Whitpain Township, Montgomery County, Gebhard entered his first baptism in April 1772, his last in July 1774. At Witpen "Gabriel Gebhard, V. D. M.," entered the baptism of his eldest son, Jacob, born April 20, 1774, baptized May 7, 1774, with a Latin prayer: *Deus faciat ex eo sui ipsius honoris instrumentum* i.e., *May God make out of him an instrument of his own honor.*

The ministry of Gebhard in these congregations was very brief, and while the external cause is known, the internal cause in the congregations can only be inferred. Its brevity may have been due to the fact that Trappe refused to agree to the decision of Coetus, thereby reducing his salary. There is no evidence in the Trappe church record that Leydich gave up the congregation.

The minutes of Coetus supply this information about the departure of Gebhard from Pennsylvania:

³ Minutes of Deputies, Aug. 20-22, 1771, Hague, 33, II, 101.

"Last fall [1774] Do. Gebhard left his congregations of Witpen and Worcester on the Skippack [Creek], having received a call from New York, which place Do. Faehring had left to take charge of a Dutch congregation in New Jersey."

Gebhard's pastorate in the German Reformed Church in New York City was also brief. When the British invaded New York, Gebhard left and shortly afterwards accepted a call from the Dutch Reformed Church at Claverack, Columbia County, New York. There he remained for the rest of his life. He mastered the Dutch language within three months, so that he was able to preach in it. He also preached to the neighboring churches, traveling sometimes even to Schoharie, N. Y., a distance of sixty miles. In 1777 he founded Washington Institute, at Claverack, of which he was the principal. Dr. Corwin (*Manual*, p. 487) describes him as a man of peace, "always modest, dignified, courteous and affable in his intercourse with others." As a preacher he was forceful, addressing his sermons to the understanding, aiming to convince and enlighten his hearers. During the Revolution he was a strong patriot, maintaining in his sermons the righteousness of the cause of the colonies.

A memorial tablet in the Claverack Reformed Church gives the following record of his ministry:

In grateful Memory of
REV. JOHN G. GEBHARD,
installed pastor of this church
July 1776, and served as such for a
Period of nearly fifty years.
Born at Waldorf, Germany,
Feb'y 2, 1750.
Died at Claverack, Aug. 16, 1826.

It should be noted, however, that his call name was not John but Gabriel, as is shown by a number of entries, made by himself. In German the call name is usually the last Christian name, preceding the surname.

BENEDICT SCHWOPE (SCHWOB)

1730-1810

Benedict Schwope was born in October, 1730, for when he died in March, 1810, he is said to have been aged 79 years and six months.¹

The name Benedict Schwob (which may be identical with that of the

¹ See Dr. S. S. Hough's *Christian Newcomer*, (Dayton, 1941), p. 5, note.

later Rev. B. Schwob) occurs first in a list of members of the York congregation who on January 1, 1754, signed the "Kirchen-Ordnung" (*Church Order*) drawn up by Jacob Lischy. This Benedict Schwob may have been the son of John George Schwob, who, with 62 other members of the York congregation, signed the call of Jacob Lischy to York, March 17, 1745 (*Lischy's Record*, p. 216).

According to Dr. Dubbs (*Historical Manual*, 410), Benedict Schwob was a ruling elder in St. Benjamin's Church, near Westminster, Md., in 1763.

He was given his first examination by the Coetus of Germantown, held November 20-21, 1769. (*Minutes*, p. 301). The minutes of the Coetus of 1770 give the following information about him:

"Mr Schwob,² who already in the Coetus at Germantown submitted to an examination, petitioned the Reverend Coetus for ordination, and showed his willingness to be examined. After his reasons had been considered it was resolved by a majority of votes, that after his affairs (mentioned under Art. II.³) have been investigated, he shall be ordained by Dos. Pomp and Hendel, after he has passed his examination, provided that the commissioners, Dos. Gros and Gobrecht, appointed to investigate his affairs, bring in no objections and consider the ordination necessary from the nature of that region and those congregations. The scarcity of faithful ministers, especially in Maryland, induces us to accept as our brother every one who may be a fit instrument of the Kingdom of God. We expect this of Mr. Schwop, and are therefore hopeful that the Reverend Fathers will not be surprised by such steps, but approve of them, especially because we seek nothing by them but the salvation of souls and the honor of our God."

At the same meeting of Coetus charges were brought against John Christopher Faber, who had been preaching in Baltimore, that he was "not earnest enough in his conduct and not energetic and active enough in his ministry." In return, Faber complained against his accusers and also against Mr. Schwop, "a man who preaches in that district, that through him the congregation had been brought into confusion." A committee was appointed, consisting of Dos. Gros and Gobrecht, to visit these congregations, to investigate the matters, and to report to the Coetus its findings.

The committee sent to Baltimore reported that Do. Schwob "appears to them in many respects worthy of recommendation, that he manifests eminent qualifications, and, as far as they can find, seems innocent

² The spelling of the name varies: Schwab, Schwob, Schwop, Swope, and Schwope. He himself preferred the last: Schwope. The original form is Schwab.

³ The substance of this Article is given in the paragraph immediately following.

of the misconduct charged against him, namely injustice and dishonesty. With regard to the charge of sectarianism nothing definite could be established. On the contrary many evidences of his innocence and piety came to light." They were of the opinion that the case should be considered by the Coetus as a whole and that nothing should be done without the counsel of the Christian Synods and Classis.⁴

In 1771 the committee reported to the Coetus that the party to which Schwob was preaching had separated themselves from the Faber party and "had built for themselves a house for divine services, in which Mr. Schwob should preach." After considering the matter at length Coetus resolved that, "since Mr. Faber could no longer work with benefit in Baltimore, he should leave Baltimore as soon as convenient for him. It also advised the two parties to unite and to call a minister of the Coetus as their pastor, but that neither Faber nor Schwob should continue to preach either at Baltimore or at Pipe Creek, which they had served up to that time.

At the same Coetus of 1771 Mr. Schwope (spelled *Schwab* in this instance) renewed his request for ordination. Dos. Gros and Gobrecht reported that none of the things with which he had been charged could be proved. "On the contrary both delegated gentlemen have heard much good about him, and his congregations give him the best testimonials." Coetus found it advisable to examine him carefully, and, if he should pass the examination, to ordain him. Dos. Henop and Hendel were appointed to carry out these conclusions. To the Fathers in Holland they justified their action by the statement: "Because we regard said Mr. Schwab as a man who will earnestly labor to build up the Kingdom of God and promote the salvation of men, therefore we deem it necessary to ordain him."

From this statement it might be inferred that the ordination took place shortly after the meeting of Coetus in 1771. But this seems excluded by a sentence in the Coetal letter of 1773 (*Minutes*, 340): "Those young men who were examined in Reading in 1771, and whose rigorous [second] examination was concluded at Lancaster in 1772, after they had satisfied the appointed examiners (together with Mr. Schwob, who had passed his examination before, being a man of forty years of age) were given permission to administer the sacraments in those congregations which they had until then supplied only with preaching."

At the meeting of Coetus in 1772, which Schwope attended, he was advised to give up Baltimore "as otherwise no union could be expected." Schwope replied that "he personally did not insist, but his party desired that he should preach for them."

⁴ *Coetal Letter*, Dec. 7, 1770.

In 1773 Schwope apparently withdrew from Baltimore, for at the meeting of Coetus, held at Lancaster, October 27-28, 1773, the one party (which Schwope had served) "extended a call to Do. Otterbein, and the question was put whether it would be advisable for Do. Otterbein to accept the call." Coetus resolved that it would be better for some one else to serve Baltimore. They proposed Hendel, but this proposal was not accepted. Then the call to Otterbein was renewed, and he accepted it. Later he stated: "I felt bound by my conscience to do so."

Mr. Schwope meanwhile continued his service at Pipe Creek. In the years 1774-76, six ministers of the Reformed Coetus—Wm. Hendel, Wm. Otterbein, Jacob Weimer, Fred. Ludwig Henop, Daniel Wagner, and Benedict Schwope—united in a revival movement, which had for its object, "that those thus united may encourage one another, pray and sing in union, and watch over one another's conduct. They are to be especially careful to see to it that family worship is regularly maintained. All those who are thus united are to take heed that no disturbances occur among them, and that the affairs of the congregations be conducted and managed in an orderly manner." Five of such meetings were held, at Pipe Creek, Frederick, and Baltimore, beginning May 29, 1774, and ending June 2, 1776. Benedict Schwope acted as secretary of these meetings and entered their minutes in the Pipe Creek Church record. That fact implies that Schwope was serving Pipe Creek during those years. It is now St. Benjamin's, near Westminster, Md. (Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, 239).

After 1776 Schwope disappears from view; at least he is not mentioned in the official records of the Church. According to Dr. Dubbs (*op. cit.*, p. 243, note), "he removed to East Tennessee, where he took charge of several small churches." Still later we find him in Kentucky. He assisted in starting a German church in Lexington, Ky., in 1792. In the fall of 1808 Bishop Asbury and Henry Boehm were traveling from Louisville, Ky., to Nashville, Tenn. They passed near Shelbyville, Ky., crossed the Salt River, and "hastened to Joseph Furguson, Thursday, the 15th of October [1808], where we met Benedict Schwope by accident. I knew him at first glance, but he would not have recollected me. It was pleasant to meet, after so long an absence; but oh, how time and toil and suffering have worn us down, one of us at least." Two years later, when preaching at Lexington, on Sunday, October 7, 1810, Asbury heard "the sad intelligence of the death of Benedict Schwope. He had died in the winter of 1809-10." The bishop adds: "My old acquaintance was a man of more than common mind and gifts, and might have been much more useful than I fear he was." Swope had died on March 30, 1810, aged 79 years and six months, at the home of his son, in Lincoln county, Kentucky. (Hough, *S. S. Christian Newcomer*, p. 5.)

JOHN WESSEL GILBERT NEVELING

1750-1844

There is something strange about the personality and career of Mr. Neveling. At some points we hardly know whether we are dealing with fact or fiction. Our sources for his life are, first, the references to him in the minutes of the Coetus of Pennsylvania, which are strictly contemporary. Secondly, a sketch of his life, that appeared in the *Reformed Messenger*, January 31, 1844, and is signed "J.F.B."—the Rev. Joseph F. Berg, pastor of the First Reformed Church, Philadelphia, who officiated at the burial of Neveling. Thirdly, the sketch of Neveling by Dr. Henry Harbaugh, published in 1857, (*Fathers*, II, 203-207). Lastly, a series of letters by Neveling, extending from 1793 to 1815.

To begin with his name, which is given by Dr. Berg as John Wesley Guisbert Neveling, and by Dr. Harbaugh as John Wesley Gilbert Neveling: The surname is always spelled Neveling (with one *l*) by Neveling himself. As to the Christian names, it seems strange that a German father would name his son Wesley, when John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was not known in Germany in 1750. But, more important, in the only letter in which Neveling spells out his name in full it is John Wessel Giebert Neveling. Now, John Wessel (1400-1489) was a well-known Reformer before the Reformation, who might have been known in Westphalia in 1750. The name Giebert is French in form; the corresponding German form is Gieselbrecht. It occurs very rarely in German Christian names. The probable inference we should draw from these facts is that Neveling adopted these strange names in *this* country. This conclusion is indirectly supported by finds in Germany. If Neveling was, as Dr. Harbaugh states, the nephew of Mrs. Weyberg, it is natural to look for him at Westhofen, in Westphalia, the birthplace of Mr. Weyberg. A letter addressed by the writer to the pastor of the Evangelical Church at Westhofen brought the following reply: "There was only one Neveling family at Westhofen about 1750, that of John Diedrich Neveling, the baptisms of whose children are found in the church record: (1) John Friedrich, bapt. Aug. 4, 1754; (2) Diedrich Henry, bapt. Aug. 14, 1755; (3) Casper Henry, bapt. May 26, 1760; (4) Diedrich Henry, bapt. Sept. 26, 1762." The pastor of Westhofen suggests that the John Friedrich might perhaps be identical with the American John Neveling, for that is the way Neveling signed his name in several letters. The means are not at

hand to decide definitely the mystery of his Christian names.

According to the ordinary tradition (as handed down by Drs. Berg and Harbaugh) John Neveling was born in Westphalia in 1750 (or thereabouts), probably in Westhofen, the home of the Rev. Casper Weyberg. He came to this country in or about 1765, in company with Mrs. Weyberg, who was his aunt.¹

He received his education under the tuition of the Rev. Daniel Gros, who taught him ancient languages, and of the Rev. Casper Weyberg, who taught him theology. In 1771 he appeared before the Coetus. The minutes of October, 1771, state:

"The congregation in Amwell [N. J.], extended a call to John Neveling, who at times had served this congregation. This John Neveling is a cousin of Mr. Weyberg. He had been instructed by Mr. Weyberg, and, to some extent, by Mr. Gros. Because he diligently studied the necessary sciences, he soon advanced so far that he was able to preach. He, therefore, appeared before the Reverend Coetus, in order to be examined, which was done. In regard to the languages, he has not yet the necessary knowledge, but in theology he is further advanced, so that we could be satisfied with him. Because the congregation in Amwell had a special liking for him and his sermons, and also believed that they were improved and edified by his sermons, it was finally resolved that Mr. Neveling shall serve the congregation in Amwell with preaching and catechization. If he further conducts himself like a minister in his life, teaching and conversation, so that no complaints can be brought against him, we shall then proceed to qualify him fully for his important office, but with this condition, that it shall first be reported to the Reverend Fathers, and when it has been approved by them, then Mr. Neveling shall be ordained and received into our Coetus."

At the Coetus of 1772, Neveling and five other candidates submitted to a second examination, and, since his as well as other congregations urged the necessity of having ordained ministers in their midst, Coetus finally yielded to the urgent pleas of the congregations, and, although the permission of the Holland Fathers had not been obtained, ordained them, after they had successfully passed their second examination.

In 1776 Neveling received a call from the Germantown congregation, but declined it. He continued to minister to the Amwell Church up to the year 1782. In 1782, when Mr. Daelliker left Rockaway, Valley, and Foxhill, in New Jersey, Coetus resolved, that, as Amwell alone was not able to pay Mr. Neveling a sufficient salary, these three congregations should unite with Amwell to form a single charge, so that together they

¹ According to the Coetus minutes, as quoted, Neverling was a cousin of Mr. Weyberg.

could provide a sufficient salary, and also a parsonage, located in the centre of the charge. But when the three former congregations of Daelliker declared this to be inexpedient, Neveling left them and accepted a call to Reading, Pa., with the result that all the German congregations in New Jersey were for the time being without a minister to preach to them.

While pastor in New Jersey Neveling never attended the meetings of Coetus or handed in a single pastoral report. It was during his ministry in New Jersey that Neveling suffered a great misfortune. In the Revolutionary war he converted his considerable estate, amounting, it is said, to £5,000, into money, which he loaned to Congress, taking for it the certificate of Congress as his only security. Then he joined the army as chaplain, and distinguished himself by his service, so that the British government offered a large reward for his capture. In some way or other Neveling was defrauded of or lost this certificate, and as a result lost all his investment, so that he became extremely poor and the Coetus had to appeal in his behalf to the Fathers in Holland for relief.

In May, 1783, after he had moved to Reading, Neveling attended the Coetus of Philadelphia, when he handed in the following pastoral report: Families, 100; 12 baptized, 10 confirmed, and one parichial school with 75 scholars. In the fall of the year 1783 an even greater calamity befell him: he suffered a stroke of apoplexy, which disabled him from further occupying his post. This is the statement in the Coetus minutes (p. 387). His later biographers, Drs. Berg and Harbaugh, do not mention the apoplectic stroke, but tell this story: One day, whilst riding to one of his appointments, (Dr. Good says [*History*, 572] to his church at Alsace, near Reading), his horse stumbled and fell. He carried a long pipe in his mouth, which inflicted a severe wound in his throat, and this affected his speech permanently. It is not clear whether the stroke preceded the fall from the horse or followed it. Whichever it was, it rendered him a life-long invalid.

In the Coetal letter of 1786, Mr. Daelliker, the secretary of Coetus, appealed to the Fathers in Holland in his behalf. He wrote: "Do. Neveling, who was formerly pastor in Reading, whose misfortune and affliction, by the unsearchable wisdom of God, has been reported to you by Do. Blumer [in 1784], is, with his numerous family, a true and real object for your most tender sympathies, which must go out to an unfortunate man who is unable to support himself and family. Mr. Neveling, not wishing to be burdensome, has hitherto used up almost all he had; now, however, necessity compels us, in behalf of this man, most earnestly to entreat you, Reverend Fathers, to help him and his family, according to your well-known benevolence." The appeal was repeated in the Coetal let-

ter of 1787. The Fathers in Holland responded to this appeal and sent him £15 in 1788, and in 1790 he received another sum of £7.10.

Neveling bore his affliction with great patience and fortitude, seeking comfort in his Bible, till finally his eyesight failed. In the archives of the First Reformed Church of Philadelphia are seven of his letters, written between 1793 and 1813, in which he pleaded for help, which was given him. On April 15, 1815, he wrote a letter to Synod, asking that a collection be taken up in his behalf. He signed the letter, "Wessel Johannes Giebertus Neveling."

He resided in Philadelphia during the last part of his life, dying there on Friday, January 18, 1844. His remains were placed at first in the vault of the church, but were transferred later to West Laurel Hill Cemetery, where a simple stone marks his grave. It bears the following inscription: "Church Vault. Rev. J. W. Neveling, died January 18, 1844, aged 94 years." Three of his children survived him. His wife was a Steinmetz.

JOHN DANIEL WAGNER

1750-1810

John Daniel Wagner (such is his full baptismal name) was born January 11, 1750, at Eibelshausen, then in the Duchy, now the Province, of Nassau. His father was Philip Wagner and his mother Anna Elizabeth, maiden name not known. His father Philip emigrated with his family to America, arriving at Philadelphia on the ship "Edinburgh," captain James Lynn, on October 2, 1753. On the same ship came John Aurandt, the father of the Rev. John B. Aurandt.

After the arrival in Pennsylvania, the family, consisting of the parents, two sons, and three daughters, is said to have settled first in Chester County. Five or six years later they moved to Bern Township, Berks County, where they made their home on a farm. Here young Daniel engaged for a while in farming. But, being naturally inclined towards religion, the desire to enter the ministry began to stir within him. His parents offered no objection. As a result he went to the Rev. J. Daniel Gros, who from 1764 to 1770 was pastor at Allentown, to study under him the ancient languages: Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He pursued his studies with diligence and achieved good results. He then studied theology under the Rev. Wm. Hendel, at Lancaster. He appeared before the Coetus in 1771. The minutes of the meeting held at Reading, Oc-

tober 9–10, 1771, state: “Besides Mssrs. Wack and Neveling, another young man, by the name of Wagner, was examined, who was under the instruction of Mr. Hendel, and also for a time under that of Mr. Gros. With regard to Mr. Wagner, Coetus passed no other resolution at the last meeting than that he shall preach and catechize in congregations where it is deemed necessary, and if he shall be diligent in future and lead a Christian and godly life, he shall then be given hope of being fully qualified for his work.” His congregations were in York County, where he assisted the Rev. Mr. Otterbein. In 1772, with five other candidates, he appeared once more before the Coetus, held in that year at Lancaster, June 17–18. The minutes state:

“The brethren, Wack, Weber, Neveling, Wagner and Steiner, who were examined last year by the Coetus held in Reading, appeared and, partly themselves, partly their congregations which they served thus far, petitioned Coetus for ordination. At first they were put off with hopes for next year, since by that time we expect an answer from the Reverend Fathers in regard to them. However, on account of the earnest petition of their congregations and the representation of their great need, that, although they had a minister in their midst, yet at baptisms and other necessary ministerial acts they were obliged to look elsewhere for an ordained minister, and thus were only supplied with preaching, and concerning the administration of the sacraments they must still be regarded as vacant, therefore the Reverend Coetus finally resolved to proceed as follows:

“*Resolved:* The brethren named above (according to the resolution passed in 1771 at the Coetus held in Reading) shall once more be examined peremptorily. The place where this shall be done shall be at the home of the President, Do. Faber. Dos. Weyberg, Faber, Gross, and Pomp were chosen examiners. If the result shall be satisfactory to the examiners, the ordination shall take place.”

The examination of the candidates was satisfactory and the ordination took place soon afterwards, as shown by the case of Wack, who was ordained in July 1772. His ordination certificate, still preserved, proves that. The others must have been ordained about the same time.

It seems that Otterbein left to Wagner the rural congregations connected with York—Kreutz Creek and Canadochly. At Kreutz Creek we find an annual settlement of the alms money, dated April 17, 1772, signed by Wagner as pastor. When in 1773 it was reported to Coetus that Otterbein was determined to leave York, Coetus resolved that, in case Mr. Otterbein should really leave York, Wagner might serve it, provided that a written call for him be laid before the next meeting of Coetus. In May, 1774, the minutes of Coetus report that Otterbein had

vacated York and that the congregation had extended a call to Wagner, which Coetus allowed him to accept. The first baptism which Wagner recorded at York is dated June 5, 1774. From that date to Nov. 27, 1786, he entered 320 baptisms and 291 marriages in the York record. In 1776 several congregations near York were reported as too distant to be served by Wagner. Hence it was deemed necessary to send to them John Christian Stahlschmidt as catechist. In the year 1777 Helffenstein and Wagner were appointed a committee to ordain Stahlschmidt.

Towards the end of the year 1786 Wagner accepted a call from Tulpehocken and neighboring congregations. At Trinity Tulpehocken his entries begin on January 27, 1787. They continue to September 28, 1793. Altogether he entered 94 baptisms in the Trinity record. It was a very extensive charge. In the statistics of 1792 (found in the Mayer Manuscripts) his congregations are given as Tulpehocken, Heidelberg, Swatara, Bern, Berg [Hill Church], and Summerberg. In that year he had five parochial schools with 160 pupils.

Dr. Harbaugh relates an interesting story which shows how much his parishioners were attached to Wagner. Twice a year some of his members at York would form parties, from three to half a dozen persons, who, mounted on horseback, would pay their former pastor a visit at Tulpehocken. Moreover, they tried repeatedly to bring him back to York. Finally, in answer to a third call he returned in October 1793. His first marriage after his return was entered on October 29, 1793. From that date to October 17, 1802, he recorded 333 baptisms and 163 marriages in the York record. During his second pastorate at York the church was destroyed by fire. It was rebuilt, and was rededicated on May 11, 1800.

In October, 1802, Wagner accepted a call to Frederick, Maryland. His first marriage at Frederick was recorded on November 21, 1802, his last on August 26, 1810; his last baptism on October 4, 1810. He recorded a total of 367 baptisms and 312 marriages at Frederick. This is a striking illustration of his careful pastoral work. When he came to Frederick he found the congregation much divided and disturbed by an independent preacher, named Schneider, who maintained himself there and in several neighboring congregations for some time. But, according to the testimony of Dr. Zacharias, one of his successors, "By his wise and dignified course, and an able and faithful ministry, he succeeded in putting an end to the unchristian strife and in securing the confidence and affection of every member." His charge at Frederick was very extensive. Besides Frederick he preached at Glade, Middletown, Jefferson, and in Loudon County, Virginia. In fact, his indefatigable labors in this large field broke down his health. A letter of Wagner, dated January 9, 1809, is still preserved in the Harbaugh Collection of Manuscripts, in which he writes to Mr.

Frederick Rahausser, who became his son-in-law: "In regard to the state of my health, I can say little. At least I have not become weaker for some time past. In fact, I think I feel a little stronger. But that is only my opinion. How it will end the Lord knows, let his good will be done. May He only grant that my faith in Him be strong and living in the hour of death."

Amid increasing weakness and failing health Wagner continued his work till October, 1810, when he was compelled to resign. He died December 17, 1810. His funeral sermon was preached by his former pupil and friend, the Rev. Lewis Mayer, based on Isaiah 57:1-2. It was, as Dr. Harbaugh says (*Fathers*, 11, 236), "a beautiful tribute from a grateful son to his spiritual father." A few sentences from this tribute may be quoted to show the character and spirit of Mr. Wagner, as Dr. Mayer knew him:

"Mr. Wagner was an upright, experienced and earnest minister. He was a holy man. Whoever had intercourse with him had abundant reason to know that in him the 'old man' was conquered . . . I knew this man, as I believe, better than any among you could possibly know him. Instructed and prepared [by him] for the ministry, living in the bosom of his family, and accustomed to have daily communion with him, I had opportunity to become acquainted with his inward as well as his outward character; and, in the presence of God, I can here declare that he was, in truth, all that he appeared to you to be, and that his outward life was nothing else than a true transcript of his inward life. . . . As a preacher he had many excellencies. He received the Word from God's mouth, and proclaimed it in His fear. Hence, his sermons were full of wisdom and power."

A copy of this sermon is preserved in the Historical Society's library at Lancaster, Pa. It is entitled: *Leichenrede auf das Absterben des Ehrw. Herrn Wagner's, gehalten in der Deutsch-Reformirten Kirche in Friedrichstaun, von Ludwig Mayer, Prediger in Scheperdstaun. Friedrichstaun, Gedruckt bey C. F. Melsheimer, 1811, 25p. 8 vo.*

Mr. Wagner was married in 1775 to Anna Reitzel, of Lancaster, Pa. This union was blessed with eight children, four sons and four daughters.

CASPER WACK

1752-1839

John George Wack, the father of Casper Wack, arrived in Philadelphia on the ship "Patience," captain John Brown, qualifying September

16, 1748, aged 23 years. (*Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, I, 383, 385). Hence he was born in 1725. Dr. Harbaugh states (*Fathers*, II, 173), that he was a native of Wittenberg, Germany. But this can hardly be correct. If from Wittenberg, he would have been a Lutheran. But he joined the Reformed Church at Philadelphia, almost immediately after his arrival. Besides, the record of the Philadelphia Church states distinctly, in connection with the baptism of one of his children (Vol. I, 130), that he came from the Palatinate. There was no town named Wittenberg in the Palatinate.

John George Wack was apparently a single man when he arrived in Philadelphia in 1748. But, about the year 1750, he was married to Elisabeth Schuyler. His son Casper was born August 15, 1752. That date is given by Dr. Harbaugh, and depends most likely on the statement of his grandson, the Rev. Charles P. Wack, from whom Dr. Harbaugh derived most of his facts about the family. A partial corroboration of this date is found on his tombstone. According to it he died in 1839, aged 87. Hence he was born in 1752.

John George Wack became a member of the First Reformed Church of Philadelphia. On Sept. 9, 1756, he contributed £0-7-6 to the support of the minister. On October 25, 1763, he was one of the deacons who signed a call to the Rev. Casper Weyberg. In 1765 he is called an elder. Although a shoemaker by trade, yet he was a highly respected member of the congregation. The baptisms of most of his children, except that of Casper, are recorded in the church record. A later son, John Jacob, born Jan. 14, 1774, studied theology under his brother Casper and became his successor in New Jersey.

When a boy of fifteen Casper began the study of theology under the direction of his pastor, the Rev. Casper Weyberg. In 1770 he had studied for three years under Weyberg. (*Minutes of Coetus*, p. 298.)

The minutes of 1770 have this to say about him:

"Since the departure of Mr. Hendel, the congregation in Lancaster has been supplied with preaching and catechizing by a young man, named Casper Wack, according to his knowledge, which he gained in a three years' course of instruction under Do. Weyberg. . . . Young Wack shall continue to supply the congregation in Lancaster with preaching and catechizing as before, until the congregation can be provided with a capable minister."

Young Wack served the Lancaster church from September 1769 to December 1770. When the Coetus met in October, 1771, the case of Wack came up again. He had meanwhile left Lancaster and accepted a call from Tohickon and Indianfield. The minutes state: (p. 316):

"Concerning Mr. Wack, the Reverend Fathers [in Holland] were given a short statement in last year's minutes, namely, that he had been under the instruction of Mr. Weyberg. He is now far enough advanced, through his training, to be able to serve a congregation. The congregations at Lower Tohickon and Indianfield, which have thus far been cared for by his ministry, and, according to their statements, have also been edified by his preaching, have shown such a desire for him as to give him a unanimous call. Mr. Wack was therefore first examined in the divine truths and the way of salvation, and, after he had given satisfaction to the Reverend Coetus, it was resolved that Mr. Wack, for the time being, should continue to serve these congregations as before, but we will defer the ordination until the Reverend Fathers have first been notified. Whatever they will advise in this matter will be done with regard to Mr. Wack."

During the course of the next year the question of the ordination of Mr. Wack (and four other candidates) was brought up once more. This time the various congregations involved insisted that they needed ordained ministers. In view of this situation the Coetus took the following action (Minutes, 328) :

"The brethren Wack, Weber, Neveling, Wagner and Steiner, who were examined last year by the Coetus held in Reading, appeared and, partly themselves, partly their congregations which they served thus far, petitioned Coetus for ordination. At first they were put off with hopes for next year, since by that time we expect an answer from the Reverend Fathers in regard to them. However, on account of the earnest petition of their congregations and the representation of their great need, that, although they had a minister in their midst, yet at baptisms and other necessary ministerial acts they were obliged to look elsewhere for an ordained minister, and thus were only supplied with preaching, and concerning the administration of the sacraments they must still be regarded as vacant, therefore the Reverend Coetus finally resolved to proceed as follows:

"Resolved: The brethren above named (according to the resolution passed in 1771 at the Coetus held in Reading) shall once more be examined. The place where this shall be done shall be at the home of the President, Do. Faber. Dos. Weyberg, Faber, Gros and Pomp were chosen as examiners. If the result shall be satisfactory to the examiners, the ordination shall take place."

Fortunately the ordination certificate of Mr. Wack has been preserved. It shows that his ordination took place in July, 1772. But the statement of Dr. Harbaugh (*Fathers*, II, 175), that Wack was "perhaps the first young minister who had been educated, licensed and ordained in this country," must now be given up, for that honor goes to the Rev. Jonathan DuBois, who was ordained by the Coetus at Lancaster on October 21, 1752 (*Minutes*, 75). These minutes were not known when Dr. Harbaugh wrote in 1857.

The ministry of Wack at Tohickon opened in November, 1771, for he entered his first baptism there on November 23, 1771. Between that date and August 26, 1781, he entered 186 baptisms, 55 marriages, and 9 burials into the Tohickon record.

At Indianfield (or Indian Creek) his baptismal entries begin September 19, 1772, and continue to September 9, 1781. When, in June 1772, Coetus ordered that Wack should preach also at the Trumbauer Church, this order was not carried out immediately, but, as the Trumbauer record shows, Faber and Pythan supplied that church for a while. Wack did not begin to officiate at Trumbauer's till April, 1776, and continued to July, 1781.

At the meeting of the Coetus in October, 1773, the congregation of Nockamixon, Bucks County, requested the services of Mr. Wack, which request was granted. As a result, Mr. Wack opened the Nockamixon church record on November 7, 1773.

While pastor in the Tohickon Charge Mr. Wack was married, on April 18, 1776, to Barbara, daughter of Jacob Leidy, Jr. and of his wife Barbara, nee Nyce. Jacob Leidy was one of the officers of his Indianfield church. They resided for a while in Hilltown Township, Bucks County, within convenient distance from his congregations. He entered into the Tohickon record the following baptisms of his sons:

(1) John George, b. Mar. 1, 1777, bapt. Mar. 10, 1777; sponsors: George Wack & Elizabeth, grandparents. (2) John Jacob Wack, b. Jan. 8, 1779, bapt. Sept. 26; sponsors: Jacob Leidy & Barbara, grandparents.

It was during his Tohickon pastorate that the War of the Revolution broke out, in which his sympathies were altogether with the Colonies. It is not certain that he was a chaplain, but it is said that he was permitted, on account of his office, to pass the watch at pleasure. Nor is it stated anywhere that Wack preached to the American soldiers. What comes nearest to it is, that he preached near an American camp (*Fathers*, II, 185).

Wack remained in the Tohickon Charge till the summer of 1781. At Tohickon he entered his last baptism on August 26, 1781; at Indianfield on Sept. 9, 1781; and at Trumbauer's on July 29, 1781. He then accepted a call to the Saucon Charge—Lower Saucon, Springfield, and Nockamixon. He resided in Lower Saucon. It is strange that none of the earlier historians refers to this pastorate. This was probably due to the fact that neither the Coetus minutes nor the various church records were then available. With their help we can now say that Wack served this charge from May, 1781, to May, 1786. The minutes of the Coetus of May 1, 1782, state:

"Mr. Wack notified the Reverend Coetus that he had accepted a

call from the congregations in Saucon and Springfield. Since these congregations were at liberty, according to a previous resolution, to call any ministers of the Reverend Coetus, the call was unanimously confirmed."

Nockamixon, which Wack had supplied while in the Tohickon Charge, stayed with him, when he left the other congregations, so the new charge also comprised three congregations, mentioned in the minutes of 1782, namely, Lower Saucon, Springfield, and Nockamixon.

Much cannot be said about the pastorate of Wack in the new field, except that he entered his pastoral activities carefully into the church records. That is a thermometer of a man's faithfulness. At Lower Saucon he entered 129 baptisms, at Nockamixon, 175, and at Springfield 99. While pastor at Lower Saucon Wack reported, in 1783, 75 families, 32 baptisms, 37 catechumens, and one parochial school, the first reference to a parochial school at Lower Saucon. In 1784 Wack reported 170 families in all three congregations. His salary in 1785 was £87, Pennsylvania currency (about \$200) and 8 pounds of perquisites.

In 1784 Mr. Wack was called to Amwell, Rockaway, Valley, and Foxhill, in New Jersey, to become their pastor. "But since Do. Wack has declined their call, these congregations are promised that their supply will be attended to."

Finally, in 1786 "Mr. Wack, after several calls, accepted the congregations Rockaway, Valley, and Foxhill, in New Jersey," and consequently he left Saucon and Springfield."

Wack's ministry in New Jersey extended over twenty-seven years, from 1786 to 1813. His residence was four miles from the Valley Church. Rockaway is now the Dutch Reformed Church of Lebanon, and Foxhill is four miles distant from the Valley Church. After the departure of Wack all these churches left the German Reformed Church and joined either the Presbyterian or the Dutch Reformed denominations. Wack served also a number of preaching stations: Newton, in Sussex County, Knowlton, in Warren County, and also Hardwick.

While in New Jersey Wack displayed a many-sided activity. He instructed a number of young men in theology, among them his brother Jacob. He conducted a German singing school, where German hymns were sung with much enthusiasm. He introduced English preaching into his congregations, although his English seems to have been at first far from perfect. Dr. Harbaugh tells some amusing anecdotes about his first English sermons. He also ran a farm and made use of a creek, which traversed his farm, to drive an oil-mill and fulling mill. With all these irons in the fire it is not surprising to learn that he acquired considerable property. (T. F. Chambers, *Early Germans in New Jersey*, 112.)

He is described by Chambers as a "short man and quite stout, but

very light on foot and fond of exhibiting his agility." His family consisted, according to Dr. Harbaugh, of one daughter, who died young, and eight sons. But Dr. Chambers enumerates nine sons and one daughter. His eldest son, George, born March 1, 1776, was ordained a German Reformed minister in October, 1801, and was pastor of a number of Reformed churches, from 1801 to 1844.

In 1813 Mr. Wack left New Jersey and returned to Pennsylvania. He had accepted a call of the Reformed Church at Germantown, where he entered upon his ministry in April, 1813. A few years later the Whitmarsh Church was added to his parish. In Germantown he recorded, from April, 1813, to March, 1824, 364 baptisms, 184 marriages, 207 burials, and 127 catechumens—all of these entered with care and accuracy into the record.

When, due to increasing infirmities of the body, he withdrew from Germantown in 1824, he continued till 1826 at Whitmarsh. He then removed to live for a number of years with his son George, who was preacher at Whitpain, now Boehm's Church, at Blue Bell, Whitpain Township, and Wentz's Church, in Worcester Township. From there Mr. Wack, Sr. supplied the Pikeland Church. During the last four or five years of his life he resided with another son, Dr. Philip Wack, at Trappe, where he died, July 19, 1839. He lies buried, alongside of his wife, in Leidy's graveyard. Their tombstones bear the following inscriptions:

Sacred
to the memory of
REV. CASPER WACK
who departed this life
the 19th of July A.D. 1839
aged 87 years.

Sacred
to the memory of
BARBARA WACK
who departed this life
the 9th of August A.D.
1842 aged 86
years 3 months and
22 days.

JOHN WILLIAM WEBER

1735–1816

John William Weber was one of the six ministers ordained by the Coetus in 1772.

He was born March 5, 1735, at Feudingén, then in the county of Wittgenstein, now in the province of Westphalia. A letter from the pastor

at Feudingen to the writer reveals the fact that his father was John Jost Weber and his mother Anna Catharine, nee Dornhoefer. The baptisms of their three children are found in the church record. Dr. Harbaugh quotes a certificate, given to John William by his pastor on April 23, 1764, which showed that he was a schoolmaster in his native country. This certificate was most likely the preliminary step to his emigration. On September 20, 1764, he arrived in Philadelphia, with the ship "Sarah," captain Francis Stanfell, in company with his brother John Peter.

An account book of Weber, now the property of the Reformed Church at Greensburg, Pa., shows that soon after his arrival in this country he began teaching school. It contains lists of pupils, beginning with October, 1764, and continuing to September, 1771; with the amounts of one penny daily paid by each pupil for instruction. Unfortunately we cannot tell where he kept school, unless one name, Manus (Herman) Sassemanshausen, fixes the places as Falkner Swamp, because "Herman Sassemanshausen," (Sr.), occurs in the Falkner Swamp record.¹

Mr. Weber married in 1767. In his account-book he made the following entry regarding his marriage:

"In the year 1767, October the 5th, I, Johann Wilhelm Weber, born at Feudingen, in the county of Wittgenstein, was joined in marriage to Maria Agnes Born, born at Oberbosten, in the county of Baden-Baden, by the Rev. Mr. Vogt, Lutheran pastor at Falkner Swamp. It took place in Worcester Township, Philadelphia County."

After the death of his first wife, Weber married, November 11, 1784, Anna Maria Robinson. He had, altogether, 18 children, who are duly recorded in his account-book.

Weber is said to have studied for a time with the Rev. Casper Weyberg, in Philadelphia. At the Coetus of 1771 "a schoolmaster, by the name of Weber, appeared before the Reverend Coetus and requested to be examined in divine truth, and, if found capable and sound in doctrine, to be allowed to supply with preaching and catechization these congregations that are without ministers and where such supply is necessary."

As a result Weber was examined and passed the examination to the satisfaction of his examiners. He was given a license to preach, but was not promised ordination. In the following year, at the Coetus of Lancaster, held June 17-18, 1772, Mr. Weber and five other candidates appeared before Coetus and asked, either on their own initiative or on that of their congregations, that they be ordained. As the congregations urgently insisted that they needed ordained ministers, Coetus yielded and set a second examination at the home of the president, Rev. J. Theobald

¹ In this record there is also a baptism of a daughter of Wilham Weber, Maria Catharine, b. in 1770.

Faber. It was held and was passed satisfactorily by the candidates. They were, therefore, ordained soon afterwards, in the summer of 1772.

Mr. Weber became the pastor of a number of congregations near Wind Gap, in Northampton County. The first of these congregations was Plainfield, in Plainfield Township. He began his baptismal entries there in September 6, 1772. They seem to extend to May, 1783—altogether 185 baptisms. He also served Upper Mt. Bethel, in the township of the same name. There his baptisms begin a little later, because the record was not opened till 1774. Weber's entries start in this record on February 22, 1775, and extend to August, 1782. A third congregation in his charge was Hamilton, formerly in Northampton, since 1836 in Monroe, County. His baptisms there seem to run from 1776 to 1782. As they are mixed in with Lutheran baptisms it is difficult to set exact limits.

In 1776 Dunkel's Church, Rosenthal, Jacob's, and Organ Church, which had been served by Mr. Steiner, asked for Mr. Weber. But Coetus resolved: "Because the congregations which Do. Weber serves are at present at too great a distance from the other ministers, and said congregations can better be served by the neighboring ministers, therefore, it was resolved that Do. Weber shall remain so long with his congregations as they give him the necessary support, and the other congregations which Do. Steiner left shall be served alternately by the neighboring ministers." In the same year Weber reported that he was serving five congregations: Plainfield, Greenwich, Hanolden, Hamilton, and Mount Bethel. Greenwich (now extinct as a Reformed congregation) was in Greenwich Township, Warren County, N. J. In place of Hanolden we find Nolden in Weber's account book. This may be Nolton, also in Warren County, N. J.

In August, 1782, a German traveler, John David Schöpf, visited some of these distant settlements, near Wind Gap, and writes as follows:

"We passed a small log church, which has been built by the Lutherans and the German Reformed, whom it serves alternately as a place of worship. A Rev. Pastor Weber last served this congregation; but he lost the affection of these people, because he preached too much about the war. They withdrew their support from him and he was compelled to leave. He went to Pittsburg.¹

At the Coetus of 1782, which met at Reading, May 1st, we find the following statement with regard to Weber's removal from Northampton County:

"A congregation in Westmoreland County, a district near Pitts-

¹ See Schöpf, *Reise*, 247; quoted by Harbaugh, *Fathers*, II, 210.

burg, in Pennsylvania, a new settlement, where there was no German minister heretofore, very earnestly petitioned for an able minister, whom it promised eighty pounds annually, together with other necessities of life. Since Mr. Weber showed an inclination for this congregation, the Reverend Coetus resolved to recommend him, so that he may receive a regular call to that place."

In a letter written in his defense to Synod, on March 28, 1814, (now in the Harbaugh Collection), Mr. Weber describes his arrival in Westmoreland County and his trying experiences during the first years of his ministry there:

"I, the undersigned minister, was sent in the year 1782, by the Reverend Coetus to Westmoreland County, at the request of the congregations there, to visit them and to preach to them, with the privilege of accepting a call from them, behind these mountains. With God's help, I arrived and preached in all these congregations, in Pittsburg, Washington, and Fayette Counties. In October I returned to Westmoreland County. On the 14th of that month many men, elders and deacons, met me in the house of Gerhart Thomas. They all urged me, and I thought then with sincerity of heart, to accept a call from them and come to them with my family. I consented to their desire. The call was made out. They asked me how much I needed for the support of myself and family. I said, consult with each other about what they could give me. They met and promised me £116 in money, and 100 bushels of wheat yearly, a free dwelling and free wood, as my call shows.

"In the spring of 1783, I came with my family to Westmoreland. None had made provision about my house, except Gerhart Thomas, who had rented an old house for one year. I had to move in, although I and my family nearly perished with cold during the winter. When spring came at last I had to leave the old house, but there was no other house for me. I proposed that they should buy a small piece of land for a parsonage, but it could not be done. I then proposed that men should be selected to collect my salary and then buy a piece of land for me, to be placed at my disposal. The men were chosen, but they did nothing for me. As a result, I had to buy land and run into debt. A year's salary was due. I had to pay £100, but where could I find £60? I had to borrow money and pay interest. In every year I had to pay £50. I could not pay this every year. Principal and interest increased, but my salary remained stationary. I often rode from 40 to 50 miles, preached weekdays to distant congregations, in order to increase my income, and pay off my debts. When I was at home, I worked with my children to maintain my family. After eighteen years I succeeded in paying all my debts and having my land free."

The congregations which Weber served in this distant field were, according to the Coetus minutes of 1783: Fort Pitt, Hantown [Hanna Township], Hempfield, and Mount Pleasant. Dr. Harbaugh (*Fathers*, II, 214) names two congregations in Hempfield Township—Brush Creek and Harrold's. Weber also engaged in numerous missionary journeys—to Allegheny, Washington, and Fayette Counties, as well as to the new counties of Armstrong, Venango, Butler, and Crawford, in all of which he aided in planting the Reformed Church in these then distant regions. To undergo all these hardships, he was aided by a strong and vigorous constitution, which enabled him to endure hardship and fatigue. In personal appearance he was "a good-looking, portly and well formed man."

Weber's Church record, preserved by the Greensburg Church gives us a glimpse of his extensive labors. It extends from 1783 to 1816, and contains 3700 baptisms.

He continued his activity to the end of his life, dying, so to speak, in the harness. He died in his home in Hempfield Township, Westmoreland County, in the early part of July, 1816. He is buried in the Muehlisen (*Mill-Iron*) graveyard, about five miles southeast of Greensburg, where he had secured, towards the end of his life, a farm of over seventy acres, as a home for future Reformed pastors. Attached to it is a cemetery, in which the founder of the Reformed Church in Western Pennsylvania rests from his labors. A monument, erected by Westmoreland Classis in 1874, marks his tomb. (*See* an article by Rev. Dr. D. S. Fouse, "Rev. John William Weber," in *The Pennsylvania German*, VII, 219-223, with a picture of the monument.)

JOHN CONRAD STEINER, JR.

1737-1781

John Conrad Steiner, Jr. (that is his full baptismal name) was born May 8, 1737, probably at Peterzell, Switzerland, where his father was pastor from 1736 to 1747. He arrived at Philadelphia with his father, John Conrad Steiner, Sr., on September 25, 1749, while the Coetus of Pennsylvania was in session at Lancaster.

We know nothing of his youth or where he secured his training, but this was most likely under the direction of his father. His name first appears in the Plainfield Church record, when on August 17, 1766, "Johann Conrad Steiner, Reformirter Schuldiener" and his wife Catharine brought a son "Friedrich Ludwig" to baptism. Steiner, as schoolmaster, entered

17 baptisms at Plainfield, from April 1766 to May 1, 1768. These enable us to identify his handwriting, which is good.

Next we find in the Coetus minutes of 1771 the following statement about him:

"The following congregations, the Organ Church [Ebenezer], Jacob's Church, Rosenthal Church, and Dunkel's Church, were formerly served by Do. Weymer. But, because Do. Weymer accepted a call from Conococheague [Md.], of which the Reverend Fathers were informed, and these four congregations were vacant after his departure, they this year extended a call to Mr. Steiner, who at times had served them. This Mr. Steiner is the son of a former minister in Pennsylvania, who was well-known to the Reverend Fathers. Said Mr. Steiner has thus far served as schoolmaster. Besides this, he has thoroughly acquainted himself with divine truth and made considerable progress in theology. Finally he began to preach and served, with the consent of some brethren, occasionally those congregations that were without ministers. Among others, he served especially these four congregations mentioned above. As these congregations showed special liking for Mr. Steiner's sermons, and, according to their statement, were much profited by them, they asked the Reverend Coetus to assign Mr. Steiner to them as their minister. After the Reverend Coetus had given the case of these congregations its mature deliberation, it was finally deemed best that, because it seemed to be the hope of these congregations that they would be improved by Mr. Steiner's preaching, Mr. Steiner should first be examined, and, if found able, be allowed to serve the congregations with preaching and catechization; and if he should further diligently seek to lead a Christian and godly life, we will then lend him a helping hand in his future advancement, but with the condition that nothing shall be done in the case of Mr. Steiner except what the Reverend Fathers shall approve of. Hence, Mr. Steiner has been accepted for the present, in accordance with their call, by the four congregations mentioned above."

In 1772 six candidates, Messrs. Wack, Weber, Neverling, Wagner, Steiner and Schwope, were given a second examination, and, as this was evidently satisfactory, were ordained in the summer of 1772.

In Dunkel's Church record Steiner entered a series of twenty baptisms, from December, 1772, to September 17, 1775. At Rosenthal or New Bethel Church, in Albany Township, Berks County, Steiner entered baptisms from August 23, 1772, to November, 1775.

In May, 1775, the minutes of Coetus state (p. 350) that "the congregations on the Lehigh again presented a call for Do. Steiner, permission was given him to accept the call, in accordance with his desire, which, however, will not occur before fall. The vacant congregations

shall be visited by ministers of the vicinity."

The charge of Steiner included the following congregations: Stone Church, at Kreidersville, in Allen Township; Salem Church, in Moore Township; Lehigh, or Indianland, in Lehigh Township; and Dryland, in the township of the same name—all in Northampton County. Not all the records of these churches are available. But at Salem Church, Moore Township, Steiner's baptisms run from January, 1776, to October, 1781; at Dryland, from April, 1776, to July, 1781, and at Stone Church, Kreidersville, from June, 1777, to September, 1781. In 1777 Steiner reported for three of these congregations—Lehigh, Moore Township, and Allen Township—75 members, 47 baptized, 22 confirmed, 34 pupils in one or more schools.

In May, 1782, "the congregations of Allen Township, Moore Township, and Lehigh with sorrow reported to the Reverend Coetus the decease of Mr. Steiner, who had been their beloved minister. They applied for another capable minister."

The tombstone of Steiner, which is in the graveyard of Stone church, bears a German inscription, which may be rendered into English as follows:

Here
Rests the body of the
REV. MR. JOHN CONRAD STEINER.
Born May 8, 1737,
Died November 14, 1781.
His age: 44 yrs., 7 months
& 7 days. His congregations
erected this monument as a
Testimonial of their love.

Steiner was married. On Nov. 20, 1777, Rev. Abraham Blumer baptized Susanna, daughter of Rev. Conrad Steiner, minister across the Lecha, and his wife Catharine, Mr. Blumer and his wife Susanna being the sponsors. Another daughter, Salome, was baptized by Blumer on October 20, 1780. These baptisms were entered in the Jordan record.

JOHN CHRISTOPHER FABER

1734–1796

John Christopher Faber was born at Mosbach, in the Palatinate, December 24, 1734, son of the Rev. John Christopher Faber, Sr., who

was pastor at Mosbach up to February, 1735. He was later called to Lohrbach, where he ministered from 1735 to 1753. Finally he was pastor at Gimmeldingen, where he died February 13, 1764.¹

John Christopher Faber, Jr., matriculated in the University of Heidelberg, on April 26, 1752. Then we lose sight of him for a number of years. In March, 1766, he and a younger relative, perhaps a cousin, John Theobald Faber, made application to the Classis of Amsterdam, offering themselves as ministers for Pennsylvania. The Classis passed on the application to the Synodical Deputies, who wrote to Prof. Wundt at Heidelberg for information about them. When his reply was received, in April 1766, it was unfavorable with regard to John Christopher Faber, but heartily recommended the younger man, John Theobald Faber.

In spite of the unfavorable decision of the Synodical Deputies, Christopher Faber persisted in his purpose to come to America. He left in 1768 and arrived in Philadelphia, on the ship "Minerva," Captain John Spurrier, on October 29, 1767. Among the emigrants who "qualified" were Jacob, and Christian Faber. Either "Christian" was used for "Christopher" or Christopher was sick and did not sign the oath of allegiance.

In a letter which Faber addressed to the Synods on September 10, 1772, he writes about his arrival in Philadelphia as follows:

"On our arrival in Philadelphia, it happened that Do. Alsens in Germantown had just passed away. [He had died October 25, 1767] I did not regard this an haphazard event, but I implored God with tears to show me what was his will regarding me, whether it was his gracious will that I should continue to labor in his vineyard, or that I should give up this thought. I felt an inner urge that with prayer and repentance I should continue."

At the Coetus of 1768, held September 7-9, 1768, at Easton, it was reported that the ministers of the Coetus present at the funeral of Alsents were asked by the Germantown congregation to permit John Christopher Faber to serve them. This was agreed to and Faber was given them provisionally as their pastor. His charge consisted of Germantown, Whitpain, and Worcester, which he served so well that he gained their love and esteem "by his zeal in the ministry and his good conduct." A call from the Baltimore congregation had been sent to him directly, instead of coming to him through the Coetus, of which at the time he was not yet a member. The minutes of September 8 record that, "as he was willing to accept it, with the consent of the Coetus, it was deemed wise to approve this call, and cordially to recommend him, together with the congregation,

¹ See Gümbel, *Geschichte der Protest. Kirche in der Pfalz*, [Kaiserslautern, 1885], 419.

to the Reverend Synods for favorable reception into the Coetus." The baptisms of Faber at Germantown run from December 1767 to August 1768.

In Baltimore Faber opened the church record on January 25, 1769, with the following statement.

"The first preacher in the congregation was John Chr. Faber, born at Mossbach, in the Neckar, in the Palatinate, whose father was pastor at Gimmeldingen in the Haardt Mountains. May God grant that all our undertakings redound to His honor and the growth of this congregation." His first baptism is dated October 11, 1768, his last September 22, 1771. During this period he entered 31 baptisms in the record.

At first Faber was quite successful at Baltimore and Pipe Creek. At the Coetus of 1769, "two certificates, from each of these congregations, stated that Do. Faber not only lived properly but also taught properly, inasmuch as he taught the clear Word of the Old and New Testament faithfully and diligently, so that these congregations are well satisfied with him. . . . We desire for him the favor of the Reverend Fathers in Holland, who have probably received correct information about his conduct in Germany."

But at the Coetus of 1770 several complaints were brought against Mr. Faber, alleging that he was not earnest enough in his preaching and not energetic and active enough in his ministry. Mr. Faber in return complained that the main difficulty was that Mr. Schwob was preaching in his district, and "that through him the congregation had been brought into confusion." Dos. Gros and Gobrecht were appointed a committee to investigate the matter carefully and to report their findings to the Coetus.

When the case of the Baltimore congregation came up before the Coetus of 1771, the committee reported that they had visited Baltimore, and that "it seemed, after the conclusion of their labors, as if peace had again been established." But they had hardly finished their report, when the whole case was reopened. The complaints against Faber were renewed and there seemed to be no hope of reconciling the contending factions. After much deliberation Coetus concluded that both Mr. Faber and Mr. Schwob should withdraw and give another minister from the Coetus an opportunity of uniting the two parties again. Meanwhile the party of Schwob had built a house for divine services, which Coetus ordered to be used for some other purpose.

However, these resolution of the Coetus did not stop the party strife at Baltimore. Faber indeed withdrew and accepted a call to Tanneytown, Md. But his party at Baltimore called another minister, Mr. Wallauer, who had just arrived from Europe. The second party waited till 1773, when Mr. Schwob retired and they then called Mr. Otterbein.

That made the split complete and permanent.

From Taneytown Mr. Faber wrote, on September 10, 1772, a very humble letter to the Fathers in Holland,² confessing his fault and asking for their forgiveness and for permission to be received as a member of Coetus. Hence, when he renewed his application for membership to the Coetus of May, 1774, Coetus admitted him. It reported to the Holland Fathers: "Taking into consideration your consent, which appeared from the second section of Art. XV, of your last letter to our Coetus, and considering also the testimony of his congregations, it was resolved to comply with his request for admission." (*Minutes*, 345f.).

Faber was present at the Coetus of 1776, held at Lancaster, and reported that he was serving Taneytown, Codorus, Jerusalem, Zion's, David's, and Bley Meyer Church. Some of the records of these churches are at hand. At David's, or Sherman's, his baptisms extend from 1770 to September, 1776; at Blymire's, from 1772 to 1776; at Hanover, from 1770 to 1772, supply; at Jacob's, or Stone Church, in Codorus Township, from 1769 to September 1779.

In 1777 Faber is reported as absent from the Coetus. That is the last time his name appears in the Coetus minutes. But some more recent historians carry his activity to a later date. According to Dr. Harbaugh, (quoting Bonnell's *History of the Reformed Congregation at Chambersburg*, 1844, p. 8), he ministered for a few years at Chambersburg, preaching there his farewell sermon in the spring of 1789. Dr. Dubbs (*Hist. Manual*, 390), reports his death in 1796, but on what evidence this statement is based does not appear. He is said to have been respectable as a preacher, but not above mediocrity; so states Wm. W. Bonnell, one of his successors.

JOHN WILLIAM INGOLD

1737-1815 (?)

John William Ingold, son of the Rev. John William Ingold, Sr., and his wife, Juliana Catharina, nee Freis, was born October 4th, and baptized October 8, 1737, at Simmern, then in the Palatinate, now in the Rhineprovince of Germany. His father was assistant pastor of the Reformed congregation at Simmern, from 1735 to 1764. He died in the latter year.

John William Ingold, Jr., matriculated at the University of Heidel-

² Letter in the Synodical Archives at The Hague, 92.B.107.

berg, on August 8, 1754, as "Simmero-Palatinus, stud. theol." He was ordained by the Consistory of the Palatinate, May 10, 1762. He appeared before the Synodical Deputies in June, 1774, when he submitted not only his certificate of ordination, but also a letter, dated May 23, 1774, of his good conduct from F. C. Hospital, a consistorial councillor and pastor of the Walloon church at Heidelberg. Further, "touching the performance of all the functions of the sacred ministry," he had a commendatory letter from the consistory of the German Church in London, dated February 20, 1774, "where he had served for a period of four months."

"The Deputies thereupon proceeded to qualify the Rev. Mr. Ingold for the service of the Pennsylvania churches, having called him thereto and read to him the usual documents and caused him to sign the formulas of our church. He then took the oath against simony, and he was further consecrated to his work by the reading of the installation formula." His call and an accompanying letter to the Coetus of Pennsylvania were handed to him on June 9, 1774. The Classis of Amsterdam gave him 250 *fl.* and the Deputies of the synods 150 *fl.* as traveling expenses to Pennsylvania, which he reached in the fall of 1774.

When the Coetus of 1775 was held at Lebanon, May 10-11, 1775, it was reported that "Do. Ingold accepted the congregations Whitpain and Worcester, which was approved by us. Said congregations were formerly served by Do. Gebhard, who has accepted the congregation in New York."

At Whitpain, now Boehm's Church at Blue Ball, in Whitpain Township, his baptisms extend from November 7, 1774, to May 25, 1775. At Worcester, now Wentz's Church in Worcester Township, his ministry began November 10, 1774, as is shown by a receipt of salary. At the close of the first year his congregations refused to continue his salary at £75; "his brethren were sorry for him and helped him to Saucon," according to the secretary of Coetus. There he stayed for a few months during the year 1776, without leaving any trace in the church record, and then departed for Easton. There his entries begin August 25, 1776, and run without interruption to March 17, 1786.

While pastor at Easton, Ingold offered to supply Goshenhoppen, at "as much salary as their kindness and free-will would give." Only Old Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp accepted him; New Goshenhoppen would have nothing to do with him. His baptisms at Old Goshenhoppen run from November, 1780, to July 30, 1781. The result of his stay was great confusion, which a committee of Coetus in vain tried to settle. But the committee ordered a regular election, which Ingold was advised to support. The election apparently went against him; at least he left Goshenhoppen about November, 1781.

At the meeting of Coetus on May 1, 1782, at Reading, Ingold was

not present, but it was reported that he had left Goshenhoppen half a year before and was serving Easton, Dryland, and Greenwich. "The Reverend Coetus was obliged to approve of this action, because for several years it has been thought advisable to allow all vacant congregations to call a minister of the Coetus according to their pleasure; even as a minister is also at liberty to accept congregations at pleasure."

When Ingold left Easton in 1786, he went to Reading. A call to that congregation, dated September 4, 1786, is still in existence. In June, 1787, Ingold reported 100 families, 21 baptisms, 21 confirmations, and 40 scholars in the parochial school. His stay at Reading, lasting a year and a half, was filled with quarrels. Hence he was compelled to leave in April, 1788. The minutes of 1788 give the following report about Ingold: "This man suited this congregation [Reading], in many respects, less than any one before. This appeared even in the first half-year. But, notwithstanding successive quarrels, he maintained himself till the present time, when Reading gave him his dismissal and requested Coetus for permission to call another minister, which was granted. What a peculiar man Ingold is, your Reverences can partly gather from this, that he left Reading on the very day the Reverend Coetus met there. Nevertheless, we do not mean to say that Do. Ingold is alone to blame. Contrary conduct usually begets the same in others. As I have heard since, Do. Ingold ministers at present to the congregations Indianfield, Tohickon, and Trumbauer's Church."

At Indianfield his baptismal entries begin on June 19, 1788, and continue to November 1, 1789. While he was pastor there his wife died. He himself made the following entry in the Indianfield record:

"March 29, [1789], Mrs. Catharine Barbara Ingold, wife of the pastor [was buried], aged 40 years, 6 months, three weeks, and four days." At Tohickon his baptisms extend from July 6, 1788, to June 3, 1790; at Trumbauer's, from September, 1788, to August, 1789.

Ingold was absent from the meeting of Coetus held at Falkner Swamp in June, 1790, but was reported to have been rejected by his congregations. After that he became an independent minister, who did not attend the meetings of Coetus. He continued to serve independent Reformed congregations. From July, 1790, to May, 1793; he was ministering to the Spiess Church, in Berks County, and from 1791 to 1796 to Amity Reformed congregation, another independent congregation in Berks County. After the year 1796 we lose trace of him, although he was still living, for in the year 1801 Synod informed him that, because of his continued absences, he had excluded himself from the church. His name was, therefore, dropped from the roll.

In 1815 he appeared once more for a brief moment. A petition,

dated February 6, 1815, was laid before the Synod of 1815, at Easton, in which a request was made for the support of John Michael Ingold, (b. in 1795), son of John William Ingold, to enable him to study for the ministry. His father is referred to in the petition as "a bed-ridden old man, who has only a short time to live." Synod granted the petition and asked that collections be taken for him in the congregations.¹

SAMUEL DUBENDORFF

1721-1797 (?)

Samuel Dubendorff,² son of Samuel Dubendorff, artisan-weaver [Kunstweber], born at Ruemlang, Canton of Zurich, Switzerland, and his wife Elizabeth, nee Wetstein, of Monsiedel, was born October 21, 1721, at Stettin, in Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Nothing is known about his youth or where he received his education. From 1750 to 1757 he was Inspector of the Joachimstal Gymnasium (College) at Berlin. Later, from May, 1757, to 1763, he was pastor at the Orphans Home at Potsdam, and from March 13, 1763, pastor of the Cloister Church at Colberg, where he remained till 1770, when he became pastor at Linnow, near Reinsberg, in the Brandenburg district.³ After two years he resigned his office, and then stayed for a short time at Wismar, Lubeck, and Amsterdam.

On November 28, 1775, Dubendorff appeared before the Deputies of the Synods and requested that he be sent as minister to Pennsylvania. He had a letter of recommendation from Rev. Mr. Hubert, pastor at Amsterdam, but, as he had no dismissal from his former church, his petition was not granted immediately, but he was asked to secure a proper certificate and present himself before the next regular meeting of the Deputies in March of the following year.

When Dubendorff did appear again before the Deputies in March, 1776, he presented not only a letter of recommendation from the Classical commissioners, but also a testimonial from the church at Colberg, which being accepted as satisfactory, it was resolved to grant his request and install him, on the following day, March 8, 1776, without a preceding examination. Having subscribed the Formulas of Unity and having

¹ The birth and baptism of John Michael Ingold on September 21, 1795, and October 11, 1795, respectively, were recorded by his father in the Amity Church record.

² Dubendorff always spelled his name with one *b* and two *ffs*.

³ See D. N. Hering, *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der evangelisch-Reformirten Kirche in den Preussisch-Brandenburgischen Ländern*, 1786, I, 85f.

declared that he would submit to the Netherland church order and the regulations of the Christian Synods regarding Pennsylvania, the formula of installation was distinctly read to him and answered by him "attentively and feelingly."

A letter of call was also drawn up and a letter to the Coetus of Pennsylvania. Both of them were placed in his hands, "in order that thereby he be enabled to receive proper acknowledgment and location by the Coetus of Pennsylvania. He was granted 200 *fl.* as traveling expenses to Pennsylvania. Thereupon he took leave "with thanks and tears, after a blessing on his voyage and ministry had been invoked by the president."

A letter written by his cousin, Cyriacus Spangenberg, to Holland, on May 18, 1780, gives some information about his journey to America and his first troubles and trials in Pennsylvania:

"After a long, difficult, and dangerous journey of twenty weeks, from Portsmouth, England, to New York, he reached New York safely. But he was detained there for twenty-one weeks, before he was able to obtain from General Howe a passport to Pennsylvania. Finally, in the spring of 1777, he reached Philadelphia, where he was welcomed by the Rev. Casper Weyberg. He advised him to accept the Germantown congregation. His first baptism at Germantown took place on May 25, 1777. From that date to June 23, 1778, he entered 89 baptisms and 23 marriages, and, on Easter, 1775, he confirmed 17 catechumens. However, he had the misfortune of having come over on a British troop-ship bringing Hessian soldiers to America. This caused some of his parishioners to look upon him with suspicion. In addition, when the British took possession of Philadelphia and Germantown, his house was plundered and he lost all of his possessions." It is true, his parishioners tried to restore some of his lost goods, but as they themselves were poor, they were unable to make good his loss. He, therefore, left Germantown. From the calls that came to him from a number of congregations, he accepted one from Lykens Valley, now in Dauphin County, where, as his cousin puts it, he "preached, like John the Baptist, in the wilderness. He was able to contribute to the spread of the Gospel, but was ill-provided for in temporal things."

At the Lykens Valley lower church, now David's at Killinger's, Upper Paxtang Township, Dauphin County, his handwriting appears on July 27, 1779, when he made a marriage entry. His baptisms run from June, 1779, to July, 1782. There are no later entries by him. At Hoffman's Church, Lykens Valley, whose record was begun in 1781, there are no baptisms entered by his hand. He may have kept private records. In 1781 Dubendorff complained to Coetus of the poverty of his congregations and reported that they were unable to give him the necessary financial

support. In answer, Coetus resolved to send him £15 from the Holland donations.

In 1784 Dubendorff is reported (*Minutes*, 391) as serving Lykens Valley and Schwaben Creek, now Himmel Church in Washington Township, Northumberland County. In the church record of that church (a union church) are 92 baptisms between 1784 and 1789, but they were not entered by Dubendorff, although he may have officiated at some of them.

On December 6, 1783, the Deputies of the Synods sent a letter to the Coetus of Pennsylvania, in which they asked Coetus to set aside 100 *fl.* for the "unfortunate" Do. Dubendorff, in Lykens Valley. In reply he sent a letter of thanks to the Deputies, on May 6, 1784, in which he expressed his gratitude for their generous gift and enclosed a letter to her Royal Highness, the Princess of Orange, which contained a sample of Pennsylvania paper money. The letter was duly forwarded to the Princess by the Clerk of the Deputies.

In 1785 the minutes of Coetus report that Carlisle and Lower Settlement had given a call to Dubendorff, but, as he had not accepted it, they asked for another member of Coetus to become their pastor. When these congregations renewed their call to Dubendorff in 1790, he accepted and removed to Carlisle, where he labored from 1790 to 1795. In the latter year he is said to have returned to Selinsgrove. Dr. Harbaugh reports that "he removed to a special friend's [home], near Selinsgrove, now Snyder County, where he closed his life."

It is usually taken for granted that, when Dubendorff returned to the region of his former charge, he preached again, from 1795 to 1800, at Schwaben Creek and Himmel Church; it is so stated in the *History of East Susquehanna Classis*, 1941, p. 55, but there is no trace of his handwriting in the church records during this period.

The exact time when Dubendorff died is not known, although Dr. Dubbs, (*Hist., Manual*, 390) gives the year 1800, but without any evidence for that date. All we do know is that his name was carried on the roll of Synod till 1796. In 1797 it was dropped. That may indicate at least approximately the time of his death.

Dubendorff seems to have been married. At least in the Hoffman record, Upper Lykens Valley, there appears among the communicants of June, 1817, Anna C. Dubendorff, widow; and, in addition, the names of William and Samuel Dubendorff, probably his sons, appear repeatedly in the communion record, between 1813 and 1821.

JOHN CHRISTIAN STAHLSCHMIDT

1740-1825

John Christian Stahl Schmidt, the eldest son of John Stahl Schmidt and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of William Mueller, was born March 3rd and baptized March 13th, 1740, at Freudenberg, a village near Siegen, then in the principality of Nassau-Siegen, now in the province of Westphalia. His father was a well-to-do and prominent man, who operated several steel-forges and held numerous high offices, such as Landeshauptmann, i.e., Captain General of the country; Magistrate of the court; and Bergschöffe, something like inspector of mines. The couple had ten children,¹ two of whom died in infancy. The father was a harsh man, who ruled his family like an army captain with strict commands; if there was any failure in obedience, the punishment was a vigorous application of the rod. His mother was a very friendly and pious person, to whom her son was always attached with the greatest affection. As a boy, young Christian roamed through woods and meadows, loved nature and birds, kept company with unruly companions, came home late, although he knew that an angry father and punishment awaited him. In time he was sent to school, where he learned the three R's and some Latin. Later he had to assist his father in farming and in the administration of his business enterprises. But he also took a great interest in astronomy, the Copernican planetary system, and globes, which even in later years were a source of enjoyment to him. When fourteen years of age, after attending the catechetical instruction of his pastor, the Rev. Matthias Vollpracht, he was confirmed and admitted for the first time to the Lord's Supper, an event which made a deep impression upon him. Though he was on the surface a wild and unruly boy, yet there was underneath a strong current of piety, nourished by his mother, through which the Spirit of God was working on his soul. These moments of spiritual exaltation alternated with serious backslidings and returns to his former wild life.

In his eighteenth year, after passing a night of frivolity with his wild companions, he returned home to fall into a sleep, in which he experienced a remarkable dream. He thought he heard a noise, and that when he looked around he saw himself surrounded by a multitude of people, who were headed towards judgment. He saw the judge on his

¹ In the church record at Freudenberg ten children are entered. But only eight survived. Hence John Christian in his autobiography calls himself the oldest son of eight children.

throne, who beckoned him to draw near. He came forward and fell on his face, crying out, "Mercy! I will lead a better life." Then he awoke and was glad that there was still another chance for him.

1769? About this time he came into contact with pietistic separatists, who spent their time playing religious hymns and reading religious, especially mystical, books, such as those of the medieval mystic Jacob Boehme. Their meetings caused him to miss the afternoon services in church, which led to violent scenes with his father. Their relationship became intolerable when on August 3, 1859, his father came into his room, ransacked the drawer on his table, and found there one of the books of Boehme. He became so angry that he gave him a terrible beating with a horsewhip and made him promise that he would give up his intercourse with the pietists and stop reading their books. This promise, extorted from him with the threat of further punishment, he soon felt unable to keep. To give up his favorite books and companions seemed like giving up life itself. Hence he formed a resolution to leave parents and home. The books of Boehme that he had read had been printed in Amsterdam, Holland. There he might find Christian friends, employment, as well as a home.

The following Sunday evening he went to his room, packed his clothes and other belongings, together with all the money he had in hand, wrote a letter to his father, and at midnight quietly left the house and took the road to Cologne. Early next morning he arrived there. Fearing that he might be stopped for lack of a passport if he crossed the river, he inquired whether a boat was going down the river, and to his joy learned that a boat would leave in an hour. When it came, he got on and soon the boat was moving down the river and in a few days reached Amsterdam. There his expectations of finding friends and employment were not realized and he was compelled to accept the offer of the captain of an East India sailing vessel to become his personal servant.

With a Bible and some books of Boehme, which he had bought, he set sail in company of three hundred wild and boisterous seamen, none of whom could possibly be a real companion to him. On New Year's Day of 1760 they passed the island of Madeira, and after three months reached the Cape of Good Hope. Stahlschmidt had soon learned his duties as a sailor and could climb masts like an experienced seaman, while by his good conduct and geographical knowledge he gained the respect and goodwill of the officers. After a journey of half a year, and after having passed through a severe storm, they reached Batavia, the capital of the Dutch island of Java. The soldiers whom they had on board were left there. Then they loaded pepper and other spices and sailed five hundred miles farther to Canton, China, which they reached in three weeks.

There they stayed six months, refitting the ship and loading it for the return journey. In January, 1761, they left Canton. Near the Cape of Good Hope they were overtaken by a terrible thunderstorm. A flash of lightning splintered one of the masts, killed two sailors, and set the ship on fire. With great difficulty they gained control of the fire. On account of the Seven-Years War then raging they had to take the route around Ireland, Scotland, and the Shetland Islands. In June, 1761, they reached Amsterdam. To find work Stahlschmidt made a trip to Hamburg, but was again disappointed. He wrote home, but not getting an answer immediately again took service on an East India merchant-man. Shortly before his departure, when he could not cancel his contract, letters from home arrived, but too late for him to act on them. The ship left Amsterdam on December 14, 1761, with two hundred sailors and one hundred soldiers. The first stop was at Portsmouth, where the sailors and soldiers engaged in a wild debauch, to their regret later on. The ship took five months to reach the Cape of Good Hope. On the trip 108 persons died on board and eighty had to go to a hospital on landing. Stahlschmidt too was seized by a violent fever, which for seven days threatened his life. When he awoke on the eighth day, he had been thrown out of his berth and was lying on deck between two large boxes, but his fever was broken.

They continued their journey to Bengal, in India, where he took the ague and was placed in a hospital. Through the faithful care of a German physician he recovered sufficiently to continue the journey with his ship, which carried supplies from Bengal for the British troops in Ceylon. There Stahlschmidt fully recovered his health through the use of the water of a certain spring. The return journey to Holland was slowed up through frequent stops for trading purposes, but about June 1, 1765, they landed in Amsterdam. There he found letters inviting him to come home. He reached Freudenberg in July, 1765, after an absence of five years and eleven months. He was joyfully welcomed, especially by his mother.

But he soon discovered that there was no place for him at home. He therefore accepted the offer of a cousin to engage with him in the business of lace-making. At first they were successful, but gradually dissatisfaction arose, which resulted in the discontinuance of the business. Thus he was again without work. This led him to think of trying his fortune in America, a resolution which met with violent opposition on the part of his father. To overcome that, he announced that he was once more going to Holland and would leave the future to Providence.

Early in March, 1770, he gathered up his belongings and sent them by way of Cologne to Holland. Then he bade goodbye to his parents and family and started on foot for Holland. He turned his steps first to Rotterdam, but being disappointed in his search for work there and too

timid to call upon friends for help, he went on to Helvoetsluys, whence he sailed to Harwich, England. From there he took the stage to London, a distance of seventy-two miles. There he remained for a few months, again unable to find work, but also unwilling to try very hard to find it. This turned his mind definitely toward America.

For weeks he went daily to the wharf to learn whether there was a ship ready to sail for America. At last, in the beginning of June, his hopes were realized; a ship was ready to sail for the New World. After a long and tedious voyage of eleven weeks he landed in Philadelphia in August, 1770.

A few days after his arrival he found one of his fellow-countrymen, the schoolmaster of the Reformed parochial school in Philadelphia, who had known his parents and therefore received him kindly. From the records of the First Reformed Church at Philadelphia it appears that the name of this schoolmaster was John Roscher. Upon consulting with him it was concluded that he should try for one year the trade of lace-making, with which he was familiar. At the end of that time he accumulated a considerable stock, but discovered that, owing to different customs in this country, the sales of his product did not warrant his continuing in that business.

Meanwhile he had enlarged the circle of his acquaintances. Only two doors from his lodging-house was the parsonage of the Reformed Church, which was occupied at that time by the Rev. Casper Weyberg, who, upon meeting Mr. Stahlschmidt, took at once a deep interest in his welfare. One evening, while they were discussing his plans for his future, Weyberg revealed to him the fact that he also had thought about this question and had come to the conclusion that he would be a suitable man for the ministry. At first Stahlschmidt recoiled from that idea. But Weyberg encouraged him to think about it prayerfully for a month and then to let him have an answer. During this time Stahlschmidt tried in vain to find something to do, but all doors seemed to close against him. Hence he concluded that Providence was active in opening for him the way to the ministry, and so he began his studies. He stayed at his boarding place, but took daily lessons with Weyberg, at first in Latin, which, however, he dropped after some time, and then confined himself to the study of theology and the German language.

In October, 1771, Coetus met in Reading, at which time Stahlschmidt appeared with the request that he be prepared for the ministry. Coetus resolved, that, "as Mr. Stahlschmidt seems to have many talents for study and Brother Weyberg, who among us knows him best, has specially recommended him, Brother Weyberg, who among us is best able to do it, shall take care of him, and after he has been instructed in

the necessary sciences, under the guidance of Mr. Weyberg, we will further care for him."

After Stahlshmidt had studied for about a year, he was induced to try his speaking abilities. He prepared several sermons and preached one of them, from Matth. 11:28, at Frankford, then six miles from Philadelphia, where a German Reformed Church (now Presbyterian) had been built in 1770. His friends were pleased with his maiden effort, but he himself felt discouraged. Hence he delayed his appearance before Coetus for examination and licensure.

Meanwhile Stahlshmidt had become acquainted with Judge (later General) John Philip de Haas,² of Lebanon, who had married a Philadelphia lady. He had a son to educate and proposed to Stahlshmidt that he become private tutor in his family. This suited him very well, as it postponed his decision to enter the ministry. He went with Judge de Haas in his carriage to Lebanon. But when he began his work of instruction he found that the son had been so spoiled by his parents that it made his attempts to teach him a useless endeavor. After a six months' trial he left the family. During his stay at Lebanon he had become acquainted with the Rev. Conrad Bucher and also with Dr. Stoy. At the latter's house he met Mr. Otterbein, who had come to America with Stoy.

Otterbein took an immediate interest in Stahlshmidt and invited him to visit him in York, with the prospect of helping him to secure a position. He accepted this invitation and came to York, where he assisted Otterbein in preaching to his congregations. But no permanent work appeared to be in sight for him. Otterbein wrote, therefore, to the Rev. William Hendel, pastor at Tulpehocken, asking him whether he could find something for Stahlshmidt. Hendel replied, inviting Stahlshmidt to assist him in preaching, and to teach his children. He accepted this invitation with eagerness, as he had met Hendel and regarded him as "one of the best preachers he had met in America." He continued his studies under Hendel, preached for him frequently in his nine congregations, and instructed his children. This teaching he found enjoyable, as a different spirit reigned in the home of Hendel from that in the home of the judge in Lebanon.

During his stay at Tulpehocken he received numerous calls from neighboring congregations, but he declined them all. On January 5, 1775, the Rev. J. C. Albert Helffenstein, who was leaving Germantown, wrote to him a letter, in the name of the Germantown consistory, asking him whether he would accept a call from Germantown. "Do not always be a

² General de Haas was born in Holland in 1735. In Lebanon he was a member of Bucher's congregation. He died June 3, 1786, and was buried by the Rev. Casper Weyberg, at Philadelphia. Hence he was most likely Reformed.

timid soul," he wrote, "one who always despairs of his own ability, but be spiritually bold and trust upon the help of Him who has helped you thus far." But, in spite of this urgent plea, Stahlschmidt declined the call. A month later one of the elders of Germantown called on him and invited him to conduct a communion service at Germantown, which he consented to do.

At the Coetus of 1776, held at Lancaster May 1st, Stahlschmidt was examined and licensed as a catechist. As Do. Wagner of York was unable to supply the country congregations in York County, Stahlschmidt was sent to them as catechist. In 1777 he passed his second examination for ordination. He was given a text, I Cor. 3:9, from which he preached a trial sermon; after this had been approved, Messrs. Helffenstein and Wagner were appointed to ordain him at York, which was done in the summer of 1777. In the statistics of 1779 his congregations are reported as Quickel's, Fryen, Bley Meyer's, and Schierster's (Schuster's).

The new pastor was friendly and charitable towards all men and soon won affection and respect. But meanwhile the War of the Revolution had broken out, which divided men sharply. He himself favored the cause of the colonies, as did most of his members. But some few, especially some of his well-to-do members, were ardent royalists, who, when his sentiments became known, set out to persecute him and to make his life unbearable. As he was a timid soul, never able to stand up for and defend his convictions, he began to think about leaving the country, at least during the war, and returning to his home in the fatherland.

As a result of these conditions, he resigned his charge, and in August, 1779—just nine years after his arrival—he sailed from Baltimore, in spite of the danger of being intercepted by British warships. Because of them his ship was detained for three weeks in Chesapeake Bay and then had to sail by way of the West Indies. On the way they were repeatedly attacked by British ships, but managed to land safely at St. Eustatius, one of the Dutch West India islands, in September, 1779. After some delay they were able to take a small rickety, old, Dutch ship back to Holland. They had hardly left the harbor when they encountered a violent storm, in which the topmasts were lost. They passed through two other storms, which nearly wrecked their vessel. With the greatest difficulty they reached the English harbor of Portsmouth, but the ship was so seriously damaged that it was unable to continue the journey. Fortunately they found another Dutch ship at Gosport, opposite Portsmouth, which was bound for Holland. However, unfavorable weather compelled him to wait till March of the following year, when at last he reached Amsterdam, ten years after he had left it. He attended to some business in Holland and then returned to his home, in June 1780. He spent the

summer at home, waiting for the end of the war and still determined to return to America. In January, 1781, his father died, and shortly afterwards, in May, his mother also. Their deaths touched him deeply and he mourned their loss sincerely. In the division of his parental estate, he was passed by almost penniless. He, therefore, found it necessary to leave his home. A distant cousin in Elberfeld, engaged in business there, invited him to make his home with him and to undertake for him annually three business trips to Holland. He accepted this offer. On one of these trips to Holland he met a wealthy old lady, a friend of Tersteegen, who became interested in him. She assigned to him an annuity of 300 *fl.*, which he enjoyed to the end of his life. It carried with it the stipulation that he visit her once a year. These visits continued till 1793, when she died in her eightieth year. Meanwhile his friends had persuaded him to give up his resolution to return to America, but he continued to exchange letters with friends in America, especially with Otterbein and Wagner.

He wrote an account of his life and travels, which was published anonymously in 1799 at Nuremberg. It consists of sixty-two letters to a friend and contains 462 pages. It is entitled: *Die Pilgerreise zu Wasser und zu Lande*, i.e., "Pilgrimage by Water and Land." A copy is in the library of the Historical Society of the Reformed Church at Lancaster, Pennsylvania.¹ From this work most of the facts in this sketch have been taken.

Mr. Stahlschmidt died at Saarn, near Muchlheim on the Ruhr, and was buried in the cemetery of the Evangelical Church at Saarn, on June 1, 1826.

JOHN WILLIAM RUNKEL

1749-1832

Among the ministers of the Coetus of Pennsylvania Mr. Runkel has the distinction of having served the Church more than fifty years, a record unequalled by that of any of his brethren.

John William Runkel² was born at Oberingelheim in the Palatinate on April 28, 1749. Investigation, carried on by the writer at Oberingelheim, brought to light the fact that his father, Wendel Runkel, was married

¹ An English translation by S. Jackson was published in London in 1837, entitled *A Pilgrimage by sea and land; or manifestations of divine guidance and providence in the life of John Christian Stahlschmidt, particularly in his travels in all the four quarters of the world. Written by himself.*

² Runkel always spells his name without a *c*.

at that place September 27, 1740, to Maria Juliana Weitzel. The couple had three children at Oberingelheim, of whom John William was the third. Wendel Runkel arrived with his family at Philadelphia on the ship, "Richmond," Charles Younghusband captain, taking the oath of allegiance on October 20, 1764.

On June 5, 1770, William Runkel and Catherine Nies were married at Philadelphia by the Rev. Casper Weyberg. Sometime afterwards they moved to Tulpehocken, where Runkel became the parochial schoolmaster. There he came under the influence of his pastor, the Rev. William Hendel, who recognized unusual gifts in the young man. He studied under Hendel as well as other ministers for several years. When, in 1777, the congregations of Shippensburg, Carlisle, Lower Settlement, and Hummelstown requested Coetus to examine and ordain him, Coetus took the following action:

"Since Mr. Runckel has for some years already been instructed by several ministers, and has shown his diligence in the holy office of the ministry, and also has good testimonials from ministers and congregations, and also since these congregations are very far from us, so that they can seldom be visited, therefore it was resolved that the said Runckel be examined, and if found capable, be sent to the congregations as catechist." After having served them for two years, he again applied to Coetus for ordination. The minutes speak of him as "a man of good gifts and of a Christian Life." He was once more examined and then ordained by Hendel and Wagner, on July 30, 1778, "before a large congregation." At the same time a number of congregations in Lancaster County—Manheim, Rapho, White Oaks, and Maytown—presented a call for Mr. Runkel, which he was permitted to accept, on condition that he preach at Carlisle every four weeks and not cease to serve it until permitted by Coetus to do so.

In 1781 the congregations which Mr. Bucher had served but were vacant since his death in August, 1780, extended a call to Runkel, and asked that, in case he should not accept, they be supplied by neighboring ministers. Apparently Runkel hesitated, so in 1782 the congregations laid a written call for Mr. Runkel before Coetus. Now he declared he was not only willing to accept, but showed how he could serve the congregations from time to time without neglecting his other congregations. Hence Coetus confirmed the call. From his diary we learn that he moved his family to Lebanon in May, 1782. From February 26, 1781, to November 14, 1784, he entered 73 baptisms in the Lebanon record.

In 1783 Runkel reported to Coetus that he was serving nine congregations; namely, Lebanon, Kimmerling's, Jones', Hill Church, Donegal, Maytown, Rapho, Manheim, and White Oaks. He had 169 families,

baptized 124, confirmed 47, had five schools with 101 scholars. One of the schools was in Lebanon, whose schoolmaster John Reiter served for many years. The congregation finished a new schoolhouse in 1781 and purchased a parsonage in 1783, during Runkel's pastorate.

Runkel was a man of great zeal and tremendous energy, but he lacked good temper and good judgment; hence he was frequently in hot water and his pastorates were short and tempestuous. In May, 1784, for example, his congregations in Lebanon and the Hill Church complained to Coetus that, at the preparatory service to the Lord's Supper, he had examined and tested the members two by two. The opinion of Coetus was, that while it was necessary for a minister to have a knowledge of the standing of his members, yet "such methods should be used as may be expected to produce good results."

In July, 1784, Runkel received an invitation to preach at Frederick, Md. He accepted and on July 18th preached there, "to the largest congregation he ever preached to." His preaching was so acceptable that he was given a call by this congregation soon afterwards. He returned to Lebanon to preach farewell sermons to all his congregations. But, before he could leave, both he and his wife were taken sick with a serious attack of fever that lasted nine weeks and compelled him to delay his departure. Finally, on November 14, he preached his farewell sermon and on the next day left Lebanon. What an indefatigable worker he had been during his ministry at Carlisle and Lebanon appears from his diary, which shows that from 1776 to 1784 he had traveled no less than 13,316 miles.

When he arrived at Frederick, Runkel was still so weak that he suffered a relapse and it was not until December 5th that he preached his introductory sermon, from Hebr. 13:17. While in Frederick, he continued his missionary labors, making frequent tours through Maryland and the Valley of Virginia, down to Friedens Church, near Harrisonburg, Virginia. But through his frequent absences from home his own church at Frederick suffered severely. A Mr. Schneider, who had originally come from Albany, New York, to collect money for a church there, stayed on in Frederick and created disturbances for several years. In fact, a regular Schneider party was formed, which worked for the removal of Runkel. In 1795 a communication was read before the Synod at Reading, "in which Mr. Runkel and his congregation defend themselves against the complaints of the Schneider party, and declare that the minister and the congregation are innocent of the things laid to their charge." Synod sent a communication to the Frederick Church, in which they assured them that "the congregation was still in connection with and under the care of Synod." On March 1, 1802, Runkel preached at Germantown,

then vacant, which had invited him to pay them a visit. The congregation was so well pleased that it extended a call to him, which he accepted. He returned to Frederick, preached his farewell sermon, and then removed to Germantown, in April, 1802. Here the same story repeated itself. His boundless energy reached out to other nearby churches that were vacant, such as Frankford (now Presbyterian), Whitemarsh, Barren Hill, and other places. He also accepted invitations to more distant churches. One of them was the German Reformed Church at Forsyth Street, New York City, now connected with the Dutch Reformed Church. There he had the same experience as elsewhere. His sermon made such a deep impression upon his audience that without hesitation they gave him a call, which he accepted. He removed to New York City in November, 1805. There he labored and preached till 1812, when fear of the approaching war with Great Britain caused him to return to Pennsylvania. He settled in the neighborhood of Germantown, where he preached to a number of country churches, Whitemarsh, Rising Sun, Barren Hill, and other places within easy reach.

In July, 1815, he visited the Emmitsburg Charge, consisting of Gettysburg, Emmitsburg, and Taneytown. A call from these churches for Mr. Runkel was laid before the Synod of 1816 at Easton. "The call and its acceptance were unanimously approved by the Synod, and, at the same time, confirmed." His residence was at Emmitsburg. Here he preached for seven years, when advancing age compelled his retirement, although he continued to preach occasionally. He removed to Gettysburg, where he died on November 5, 1832, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, after having served his Church for fifty-four years. Few of the early pastors were as indefatigable as he in their ministry, or as fervent in their preaching.

Mr. Runkel throughout his long ministry kept a diary, which was still in existence when Dr. Harbaugh wrote his sketch for the *Fathers* (II, 284-308) in 1857. But it has since disappeared. However, an abstract made for Dr. Harbaugh, which he followed closely, is still preserved in the Historical Society of the Reformed Church at Lancaster.

ANDREW LORETZ, SR.

1731-1805

Andrew Loretz, Sr., was one of the three unfortunate Grisons from the Swiss Alps sent by the Fathers in Holland to Pennsylvania in 1784.

All three of them proved complete failures.

Thanks to the kind cooperation of Dr. Herman Escher, late chief librarian of the city library of Zurich, Switzerland, many of the obscurities which long hung over some of the Swiss missionaries who came to Pennsylvania have at last been removed. As a result we can add considerably to the life story of Andrew Loretz, Sr.

He was born at Chur, capital of the Canton of the Grisons (or Graubunden) in Switzerland, on August 29, 1731. His parents were Andrew Loretz and his wife Ursula, nee Paravicini. He matriculated at Heidelberg University June 22, 1750, and at Basel University October 5, 1751. He was ordained at Fatan, in the lower Engadine valley; was army chaplain, 1755-1757; pastor at Tschirtschen-Praden, 1759-1766; at Felsburg, 1768-1772, and at Haldenstein, 1772-1784. He came to Holland and presented himself before the Deputies of the Synods, together with another Swiss missionary, Bernard Willy. They were commissioned by the Deputies on November 18, 1784, and received as a viaticum (traveling expenses) 500*fl.*

Loretz and Willy traveled together to America, landing at Baltimore on December 21, 1784. The record of the First Reformed Church at Baltimore has the following interesting entry regarding them:

"On Tuesday, December 21, 1784, there arrived Mr. Loretz and Mr. Willy, and, as these men were sent by the Synods of Holland for service in Pennsylvania, and as they were entirely without traveling funds, for themselves and the persons who were with them, the elders and deacons of the Reformed congregation in Baltimore did regard it as their duty to assist them with counsel and money. Hence they spent the following amounts in their behalf:

"1. For night lodging at the Inn of the Green Tree	£ 1. 2.6.
2. At Andrew Steiger, for food & lodging for five persons	10. 0.0.
3. Traveling money given them	2. 5.0.
4. Rent for four horses, each 3 shillings per day for five days	5. 0.0.
5. Fodder for horses for five days	4. 5.0.
6. For the servants, 1 shilling each for 5 days	0.15.0.
	<hr/> £23. 7.6."

On his arrival in Philadelphia Loretz was directed by Coetus to go to Tulpehocken. On January 18, 1785, he made his first entry in the record of Trinity Tulpehocken Church, heading his entries with the following statement:

"List of those who were baptized by me, Andrew Loretz, born at Chur, the capital of the (Canton of the) Grisons, during my service here in Tulpehocken, Schaefferstown, and Swatara."

At the meeting of the Coetus held at Reading on April 27-28, 1785,

Lebanon and Hill Church (near Annville) asked to be served by a minister of the Coetus. In answer to this request it was resolved that Loretz should serve these two congregations until they could be supplied by another minister.

But even before the meeting of Coetus Loretz had visited Lebanon, for on February 14, 1785, he entered his first baptism in the Lebanon record. The entry is in his handwriting. His ministry in these congregations lasted for about thirteen months, from January, 1785, to February, 1786. During this time he entered 20 baptisms at Tulpehocken, 12 at Lebanon, and 12 at Schaefferstown, but at Swatara there is no trace of his hand. On March 6, 1786, he was given a letter of dismissal by the Coetus. As it has not been published before, we give it herewith:

"To the kind Reader, Greeting.

"Since the Rev. Mr. Loretz, who for a little more than a year served as pastor at Tulpehocken and in the congregations united with it, in Berks county, in the State of Pennsylvania, in North America, was for various reasons dismissed to return to his native land, the reasons which brought him to this resolution being as follows:

"(1) The members of his congregations cannot understand his German speech (Swiss dialect) and his sermons were for this reason without the desired effect.

"(2) The expenses of bringing his family, left back in Europe, to this far-distant continent, would be too great.

"And since he asked us to give him a testimonial, we regard it as our duty to testify that no complaints whatever were brought at the Coetus against Mr. Loretz, neither against his teaching nor against his conduct of life, but that the above-mentioned reasons alone moved him to take this step.

"May the Almighty God take him under His protection on his journey and return him safe and sound to his family.

"That this testimonial is according to truth, we confirm with our seal and our usual signature.

Weissenburg Township, Northampton County,
March 6, 1786.

"John Henry Helffrich,
p. t. Clerk of the Coetus of
Pennsylvania."

It is strange that Loretz never thought of his broad Swiss brogue before he left for America. He returned to Switzerland, where he resumed his pastorate at Haldenstein, serving there a second time from 1787 to 1796. Then he was pastor at Schuders, 1796-1798, and at Wiesen, 1798-

1804. He retired March 9, 1804, on account of old age, in favor of his son-in-law, Anthony Bernhard. After that he resided at Chur, his birth-place, where he died February 21, 1805.

His son, Andrew Loretz, Jr., was for many years a successful and respected Reformed pastor in North Carolina.

PETER PAUL PERNISIUS

1724— ?

Peter Paul Pernisius¹ was born in 1724 at Scanfs, in Switzerland. He was the oldest of the trio of Swiss ministers from the Canton of the Grisons sent to Pennsylvania in 1784. His father was the Rev. Jachem Jan Pernis, of Scanfs. The son studied privately with a Swiss minister. He was ordained June 16, 1747, at Valandas, aged 23 years. He filled numerous brief pastorates in his native country, as follows: at Silvaplana, 1751–55; at Cinuskal, 1756–68; at Birio, 1768–72; at Praez, 1772–1774; at Luzein, 1774–76; at St. Peter, 1776–80; and at the neighboring Paist, 1780–81. He was dismissed from that post and in 1784 was excluded by the Raetian Synod.²

On September 14, 1784, Peter Paul Pernisius presented himself before the Deputies of the Synods, with the request that he be called and commissioned for service in Pennsylvania. He came with a recommendation of the Classical Commissioners, who, in view of his destitute circumstances, offered him an extra gift of 50*fl.*, if the Deputies would make a similar extra donation. The Deputies "found no reason why they should refuse this request and therefore unanimously called him to the service of the Pennsylvania congregations, which having been made known to him by the Rev. President, he took the oath against simony, repudiated the condemned opinions of Prof. Roell and Dr. Bekker, and submitted himself to the Netherland church order and the ecclesiastical regulations [of the Holland Synods]. After which he was ordained³ for the service of the Pennsylvania churches, the formula for ordination having been very distinctly read to him by the Rev. President, in the French language, and listened to very attentively by him and feelingly answered. Where-

¹ His real Swiss name was Pernis, but he was known in Pennsylvania by its Latin form.

² Raetia is the old Roman name for Graubunden, Tyrol, and upper Bavaria.

³ One naturally wonders why he was re-ordained, as he had been ordained in Switzerland. Perhaps he did not have his certificate of ordination with him.

upon the newly ordained minister took leave of this meeting with tender thanksgiving and tears, after God's blessing and a prosperous journey had been invoked by the president." The usual traveling expenses of 250*fl.* and the extra gift of 100*fl.* were then handed to Deputy Coerman of the North Holland Synod, who asked that the Classical Commissioners be empowered to call and ordain the other ministers expected from the Canton of the Grisons, if they should arrive before the next meeting of the Deputies. This request also was granted.

After a long and tedious voyage, undertaken with his daughter, Pernisius reached Pennsylvania, still owing for his passage 138*fl.*, 12*st.* (about 23 pounds of Pennsylvania currency), which Coetus had to pay from the Holland donations. Pernisius was sent at once to the Reformed congregations in New Jersey. But, after having been with them for a short time, they brought him back to Philadelphia, presumably because he was too old for them. He was recommended to Lebanon and neighboring congregations, but they refused to accept him. Then, "by a great deal of persuasion," the congregations upon the Lehigh river, consisting of Lehigh, Indianland, Moore Township, and Dryland, were prevailed upon to accept him. There, again, he was unable to maintain himself. He then went to Philadelphia, where for a considerable time he practiced medicine, and supplied neighboring congregations: Brownback's, Neiss's Church, and Pottstown. As early as May, 1786, Mr. Delliker, secretary of Coetus, wrote: "If it were not that he lacks money for the voyage, he would have left America before this. This gentleman is useless in this country, and we are greatly embarrassed on his account."

The climax of the career of Pernisius was reached in July, 1788, when a cattle-driver in the forest near the home of Pernisius, in Coventry Township, Chester County, heard the report of a gun. When he reached the house of Pernisius, which was far from any other, he found Pernisius "occupied with a bleeding and already dead Danish beggar," a well known character of the neighborhood. Pernisius reported that the beggar had come to him with a wound and that he (Pernisius) had desired to help him. He denied that he had heard the report of a gun. Suspicion at once pointed to Pernisius, that he had killed the man, who was known as having a "very vicious and exasperating tongue."⁴ On this suspicion he was taken to the county jail, there to await the convening of the criminal court in May, 1789.

Then Do. Weyberg of Philadelphia took pity on him, and, with the help of two men from Philadelphia, secured bail for him. He also engaged

⁴ The Coetal Letter of 1789 adds: "which presumably may have led the hot-headed Italian [sic.], Pernisius, to such a deed."

two lawyers and with their help succeeded in gaining a verdict of not guilty.

Coetus, however, investigated his life and character, and, finding that he was "a continuous drunkard, swearer, and blasphemer," excommunicated him. (*Minutes*, p. 433).

After that he disappeared. But the records in Graubunden show that in 1789, on the plea of his daughter, he was restored to the roll of ministers in his home canton. But in 1790 he was again excluded. These facts indicate that he returned with his daughter to Switzerland. Coetus asked the Fathers in Holland to reimburse Do. Weyberg for his expenses in connection with the case, which amounted to £28.14.

Coetus reported the case to Holland as an example of "how far the wickedness and obduracy of a man can go."

BERNARD WILLY

1751-1810

Bernard Willy was one of the three unfortunate Grisons (Graubundner) who failed completely in Pennsylvania. He was born at Chur, Switzerland, on January 11, 1751. His parents were John Simon Willy and his wife Martha, nee Margadant. He was trained for the ministry privately by one of the ministers of his home canton; was ordained June 8, 1772, at Zunz, in the upper Engadine; served a number of pastorates in Switzerland, namely, 1772-77 as pastor at Paist; and 1774-1784 as pastor at Malladio. There he resigned in the latter year to go to America.

On November 15, 1784, the Classical Commissioners reported that, according to the permission given them,¹ they had "ordained to the ministry of the Pennsylvania churches, and installed with solemn invocation of blessing, the Rev. Mr. Andrew Loretz . . . and Bernard Willy, who had been minister for eight years at Malladio. After having shown very laudatory testimonials, both from the Antistes and from their former congregations, they preached very edifying sermons, the former from John 10:16, the latter from Ps. 37:5, in which the meeting took great pleasure, especially by reason of the evidences appearing therein of their attachment to the doctrine of the Reformed Church. After the Formulas of Concord had been signed by them, and what is usual having been done and promised, and the letters of call having been placed by the committee in their hands, as well as the usual viaticum [traveling expense]

¹ See sketch of Pernisius in this volume.

to each of them, viz. 250 *fl.* on our [the Deputies'] account and *fl.*250 on their own [the Classical account], they thereupon had taken leave and started on their journey that same week, on the ship 'The Paragon,' captain Henry Hugler, destined for Baltimore."

They arrived at Baltimore on Tuesday, December 21, 1784, but having exhausted their funds they appealed to the old Reformed Church at Baltimore, which gave them not only counsel, but also a substantial sum of money to continue their journey. Altogether they spent £23.7.6 to send them to their destination. On their arrival in Philadelphia they were assigned to their respective fields of labor, Loretz to Tulpehocken and Willy to the Reformed congregation in Reading. When the Coetus met in Reading, April 27-28, 1785, "the congregation in Reading presented a call to the Reverend Coetus for Do. Willy, and requested that the Reverend Coetus might accept it and confirm it." Likewise Tulpehocken, Swatara, and Heidelberg (Schaefferstown in Heidelberg Township) asked for the confirmation of their call to Do. Loretz. Coetus resolved: "The confirmation of the two calls shall take place at the next meeting of Coetus, after the circumstances have been investigated."

The Coetus evidently expected trouble in the case of these two men. Later events showed that their fears were well-founded. Before the year ended the consistory of Willy started to investigate his character. In January, 1786, Willy went to Muddy Creek, Lancaster County, and there married a young woman. Before he returned to Reading a letter arrived from his wife in Switzerland, whom he had reported as dead. On his arrival in Reading he was confronted with this letter and had to confess the truth. His elders met and closed the church against him. Then a committee of Coetus was summoned to Reading to investigate the case. It consisted of Messrs. Blumer, Hendel, Daelliker, and Helffrich. They met at Reading on January 24, 1786, and found that the charges against him were well-founded. They confirmed the action of the consistory and, in addition, excluded him from the Coetus and deposed him from the ministry. This action of the committee was later ratified by Coetus, when it met in Philadelphia in May, 1786.²

After this unfortunate affair Willy left Pennsylvania and settled in Virginia, where for many years he redeemed his past by successful and apparently much appreciated missionary work in independent Reformed congregations. He first went to Winchester, Va., where he preached for some time to the Reformed congregation. Then he moved up the valley to Woodstock. There he taught a German and English school, part of the time, with good success and approval. Many of his pupils later spoke

² A letter from the Coetus to the Deputies, dated Jan. 24, 1786, tells the story in detail. It has not been published.

with much affection of their former teacher. His missionary travels covered many of the southern counties, such as Page, Pendleton, Rockingham, Shenandoah, and Frederick.

For a time Mr. Willy took up his residence in Pendleton County, from which place as a centre he could more easily minister to the scattered Reformed congregations in southern Virginia and in what is now West Virginia. During this period of his stay in the southern section he taught some theological students, for example, Henry Diefenbach. The latter states in his brief autobiography (writing of himself in the third person) : "On May 26, 1794, he was confirmed by the Rev. Mr. Willy and on the 5th of April, 1795, he went to Mr. Willy to study. He remained with him for two years in Pendleton County, Virginia, and afterwards went to Mr. Paul Henckel, a Lutheran preacher." Eventually Mr. Willy returned to Woodstock, where he made his home to the end of his life.

When Dr. Harbaugh wrote his sketch of Willy in the *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, there were still in existence a number of manuscript volumes written by Mr. Willy and showing his deep interest in his pastoral work. One volume consisted of *Lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism*. It was a quarto of 351 pages, which contained an analysis of the answers found in the *Heidelberg Catechism*, in the form of questions and answers. Dr. Harbaugh (*Fathers*, II, 341) gives a number of interesting specimens. They show how deeply Willy was interested in catechization and how thoroughly he pursued the study of the catechism with his catechumens.

A second volume contained a *Child's Bible*, in questions and answers, begun by him at Woodstock in 1801. It is an unfinished attempt to present the contents of the Bible in simple language, adapted to the intelligence of children.

A third volume contained liturgical forms. They were for the following occasions: (1) For the administration of Holy Baptism, to infants and adults; (2) Confirmation; (3) Preparation for the Holy Supper; (4) Administration of the Holy Supper; (5) Form to succeed the administration of the Lord's Supper; (6) Church agenda before and after public worship, on Sabbaths and week-days; (7) Form for solemnizing of marriage.

These forms were rather unusual and out of the common run of liturgies, distinguishing between infant and adult baptism; introducing a special form for confirmation; having forms for prayers before and after divine services; omitting forms for the ordination of ministers, for the ordination and installation of elders, for excommunication and for re-admission of those once excommunicated, for burial services. It is possible that his forms (including the omissions) may go back to a

Swiss original.

Mr. Willy was active in his ministry, in spite of bodily infirmity, almost to the end of his life. He died in Woodstock in May, 1810, and was buried in the Reformed cemetery, though no tombstone marks his grave.

He is said to have been small in stature and careless in personal appearance, but prompt and efficient in the performance of his official duties. "In his preaching he was instructive and fervent, kind and affectionate, though pointed and plain."

JOHN HERMAN WYNCKHAUS (WINCKHAUS)

1758-1793

John Herman Wynckhaus was born in Altena, Westphalia, November 26, 1758, and baptized December 3, 1758, according to the church record at Altena.¹ His father was John Herman Wynckhaus, a merchant, and his mother Anna Gertrude, nee Dullaëus. They were married at Altena May 26, 1748. John Herman was their second son. In his fifteenth year young John Herman attended the Latin School at Limburg and on October 16th (not September 26), 1776, he matriculated at the University of Duisburg. There he pursued his studies till 1779. On December 7, 1779, he was examined, licensed, and received as a candidate of theology, by Suderland Classis. He was ordained at Berchum, district of Limburg, August 17, 1780, and installed as pastor of that congregation. He officiated there for several years, when failure of health compelled him to resign—so Dr. Harbaugh reports. But the minutes of the Deputies, under date of Nov. 7, 1785, state that he left his church at Berchum because of insufficient salary.

When he recovered his health, he began to entertain the thought of going to America. He left his home on September 21, 1783, and arrived at Amsterdam on October 14th. At Texel he boarded the ship "Maria Johannes," on November 2, 1783. He landed in Delaware Bay, January 22, 1784. There they were compelled to cast anchor, as the river was closed by ice. On March 6, 1784, he left the ship and traveled on foot to Philadelphia, which he reached in safety March 14th. It was fortunate for him that he made the decision to leave the ship, for he heard

¹ The name is spelled Wynckhaus in Germany. In this country it is usually spelled Winckhaus.

shortly afterwards that it had foundered with the loss of twenty persons and all the freight on board. When this news reached him he exclaimed: "God be praised, that my life has been mercifully spared," although he had lost all his baggage.

When the Coetus of Pennsylvania met May 12, 1784, the congregations of Worcester, Whitpain, and New Providence (St. Luke's at Trappe) asked for Do. Wynckhaus as their pastor, which request was granted provisionally by the Coetus, until they heard from the Fathers in Holland. They asked them for permission to receive Wynckhaus as a member of Coetus. This the Fathers permitted on September 7, 1785, "since the best testimonials about him have been received." At Worcester, Wynckhaus began his baptismal entries on October 23, 1784, with the following heading: "The following children were baptized by me, Johann Herman Wynckhaus, pastor p.t." They extend to July 5, 1789. At Whitpain, now Boehm's at Blue Bell, his baptisms run from January, 1785, to July, 1786. There are no entries by him at Providence.

During the stay of Wynckhaus in the Worcester charge he was married, on March 31, 1785, to Catharine Schneider by the Rev. Casper Weyberg of Philadelphia. (*Philadelphia Church Records*, I, 162).

When Dr. Weyberg died on August 21, 1790, Mr. Wynckhaus was elected to take his place. A call was extended to him on September 8, 1790. His first baptism at Philadelphia is dated August 22, 1790, but his introductory sermon was not preached till September 26. In the forenoon of that day Wynckhaus preached a formal funeral sermon in memory of his predecessor, from Hebr. 13:7. In the afternoon he preached his own introductory sermon, from I Cor. 2:2.

His ministry in Philadelphia was brief. A plague of yellow fever broke out in Philadelphia in August, 1793. From the beginning of August to the end of October no fewer than 3920 persons were carried off by the dread disease. The Reformed congregation alone lost 17 members in August, 92 in September, and 143 in October 1793.² Among the last was the pastor himself. On October 7, 1793, the secretary of the consistory made the following entry in the minutes of that body:

"Monday, the 7th of October, 1793, died between six and seven o'clock in the morning, the Rev. John Herman Winkhaus, Doctor, as the late faithful minister of our congregation, which he had served with all his strength for three years. His body was taken on the same day to our cemetery, at which solemn occasion the Rev. Mr. Helmuth spoke at

² The Rev. H. Henry C. Helmuth wrote a little booklet on the plague, entitled: *Nachricht von dem sogenannten gelben Fieber in Philadelphia*, 1793. It contains as an appendix a poem by Helmuth on the death of Winkhaus, of which Dr. Harbaugh gives the text (*Fathers*, II, 322f).

the grave, from John 11:35."

On Nov. 20, 1793, the Rev. John William Hendel, of Lancaster, was invited to preach the funeral sermon for Winckhaus and to administer the Lord's Supper. On December 8, 1793, Mr. Hendel delivered a formal funeral address in the Reformed Church, based on Hebr. 13:7, and on December 24th a call was extended to Mr. Hendel to become the successor of Wynckhaus in Philadelphia.

Mr. Wynckhaus is described as a "short, dark-complexioned man, rather stout and well-set, before a tendency towards consumption somewhat reduced him. He was pleasant in manners; quick in movements and in his speech; cheerful and sprightly in social circles."

When Dr. Harbaugh was writing his sketch of Wynckhaus for the *Fathers*, he had before him a *System of Theology*, written by Wynckhaus in Latin, which represented no doubt the theological lectures which he had heard in the university and which he had written up from notes made at the time.

LEBRECHT FREDERICK HERMAN (HERMANN)

1761-1848

Lebrecht Frederick Herman was born October 9, 1761, at Guesten, in the principality of Anhalt-Coethen. His father was John Frederick Hermann, schoolmaster, and his mother Dorothea, nee Wartman. When he was about fifteen years of age he was confirmed by the Rev. Paltenius, pastor at Guesten. After finishing the elementary school of his native town, he spent six years in the well-known school of the Orphanage at Halle, and then entered the University of Halle, matriculating there May 10, 1781, as the son of John Frederick Herman, who at that time was cantor of the Reformed church at Giersleben. At the university young Herman studied under the professors Mursina, Semler, and Nesse. According to his son, the Rev. Reuben T. Herman, he received in 1782 a call as assistant minister at Bremen, but of this nothing could be found at Bremen. Rather, in 1783 he matriculated in the Gymnasium Illustré at Bremen.¹

¹ Although his son, Reuben T. Herman, in his little Prayer-Book, entitled *Gebet-Liebling, enthaltend Morgen und Abend Segen* . . . [Phila. 1850] Appendix, as well as Dr. Harbaugh, who followed his account closely, state that Herman was born at Guesten, neither his birth nor his baptism can be discovered in the church record at Guesten. His father's name is given as "Friedrich Gottlieb," while the matriculation book at Halle University gives it as "John Frederick." Finally there is no trace at Bremen of Herman as assistant preacher, but he attended there the Gymnasium, with which a Theological Seminary may have been connected.

On November 9, 1785, the Amsterdam Commissioners on Pennsylvania Affairs announced to the Synodical Deputies that four candidates had offered themselves for service in Pennsylvania; namely, Messrs. Bekker, Trolldenier, Rausbach, and Herman. As Mr. Bekker asked for time to consider more fully this proposed step, the Deputies accepted the other three and asked that these candidates present themselves at the next regular meeting of the Deputies, in March 1786.

Before Messrs. Trolldenier and Herman left Bremen, in February, 1786, their fellow-students presented them with a farewell poem, entitled (in an English translation) :

“At the departure of our friends, Mr. Trolldenier and Mr. Herman, when they were called as ministers from Bremen to North America, dedicated to them by some friends, Bremen, in the month of February 1786.”²

At the meeting of the Deputies in March, 1786, Mr. Rausbach withdrew, because, as he stated, he had devoted himself to the service of the churches in the Palatinate. Messrs. Trolldenier and Herman asked to be ordained as ministers for Pennsylvania, after previous examination. When these two men appeared before the Deputies as candidates for the sacred ministry, their “very praiseworthy” testimonials were presented and found satisfactory. They were then admitted to the examination for ordination. It consisted of a trial sermon, preached in the Cloister Church at The Hague, before the Deputies, Mr. Herman preaching from Matth. 11:28. The examination in Hebrew was based on Ps. 3, and in Greek on Romans, chap. I. Finally they were examined on the principal points in theology. The examination having proved satisfactory, they were ordained with the laying on of the hands of all the members of the Deputies. Their calls were prepared by the Clerk, in the usual form, signed by the president, and were subsequently handed to them with the usual traveling expenses of 250 *fl.* and an extra gift of 30 *fl.*, in consideration of the difficult and expensive journey to the Hague.

Mr. Herman arrived in this country in August, 1786, and was soon afterwards called to the Easton Charge, consisting of Easton, Plainfield, Dryland, and Greenwich—the last in New Jersey. At Plainfield the baptisms of Herman begin November 12, 1786, and continue to September 11, 1790. At Dryland his handwriting does not appear till April 18, 1787. At Easton his baptisms begin, probably, in October, 1786, though his name is not definitely mentioned till January 20, 1787.

² The original German title reads: *Dem Abschied unserer Freunde, des Herrn Trolldenier, und des Herrn Herrmann, da sie von Bremen als Prediger nach Nordamerika berufen wurden, gewidmet von einigen Freunden. Bremen, im Monath Februar 1786.*

In the year 1787 Herman was married to Maria Johanna Feidt, daughter of Daniel and Maria Feidt. They had six sons and three daughters. In 1790 he accepted a call to Germantown and Frankford, both at present within the city limits of Philadelphia. At Germantown his ministry began in September, 1790, and extended to May, 1799. At Frankford, now the Presbyterian Church at Frankford, the church record containing entries before 1800 has been lost. Finding that the preaching in two languages was too burdensome, he accepted in 1799 a call to Falkner Swamp, Pottstown, and East Vincent—the last in Chester County. At Falkner Swamp Herman entered his first dated baptism on June 22, 1799; his first marriage on May 20, 1799, and on the same date his first burial. At Pottstown he opened a new record in 1801, but he heads the baptisms of 1799 and 1800 with the statement that the children of these two years were baptized by him. At Vincent (now East Vincent), in Chester County, his baptisms begin on June 9, 1799.

In this charge he remained to the end of his life, making Falkner Swamp his place of residence. While at Swamp he began the training of students for the ministry, in his so-called "Swamp College." He prepared for the ministry the following: Samuel Weyberg and George Geistweit in 1793; Charles G. Herman in 1809, Frederick A. Herman in 1814; John C. Guldin and J. D. Young in 1819; Augustus L. Herman, Thos. H. Leinbach, and Joseph S. Dubbs in 1821; Isaac Stiele in 1822; Benjamin S. Schneck and P. S. Fisher in 1824; R. A. Fisher in 1825; Reuben T. Herman and Daniel S. Tobias in 1828; Lewis C. Herman in 1830—a total of sixteen students. He trained them not only in theology, but also in the ancient languages: Latin, Greek and Hebrew.³ To gain practical experience in preaching he sent them to the neighboring churches. Thus he and his students supplied numerous congregations in Montgomery, Chester, and Berks Counties. He was also instrumental in founding several flourishing congregations, and thus he labored unweariedly in the service of the Gospel for more than 60 years, during which time he is said to have baptized 8555 children, confirmed 4600, married 2600, buried 2280, and preached 8–10,000 sermons.

Towards the end of his life he was afflicted with the loss of his eyesight, which prevented him from engaging in the active duties of the ministry. He died on January 30, 1848. On February 3, 1848, he was buried in the cemetery adjacent to Zion's Reformed Church at Pottstown, alongside of his wife, who had preceded him on November 30, 1845. The Rev. C. Miller spoke at the house; the funeral sermon in the church was delivered by the Rev. Thomas H. Leinbach, from Luke 2:29. The Rev.

³ See Dr. Good's *Hist. of the Ref. Ch. in the U. S. in the nineteenth Century*, 16f.

Mr. Seibert offered the concluding prayer.

Both Dr. Harbaugh and Dr. Dubbs give him the title of Doctor of Divinity, but it is not known what institution bestowed this honor upon him. He fully deserved it, both for the length of his ministry and for the results which he accomplished, not the least of which was the founding and conducting of the Free and Independent Synod of Pennsylvania, from 1822 to 1836.

JOHN GEORGE BARTHOLOMEW TROLDENIER

1754–1800

John George Bartholomew Troldenier (to give him his full baptismal name) was born in Coethen, in the principality of Anhalt-Coethen, on April 15th and was baptized on April 17, 1754. His father was John Christian Troldenier, teacher in the parochial school of the Cathedral church of St. Jacob at Coethen. His mother was Johanna Elizabeth.

On May 15, 1773, young Troldenier matriculated at the University of Halle. His father is given in the matriculation book at Halle as John Christian Troldenier, in 1773 cantor at Reider,¹ near Bernburg in Anhalt. In 1782 he matriculated at the Gymnasium Illustre at Bremen. In November, 1785, he and his friend Lebrecht Frederick Herman wrote to the Commissioners of the Classis of Amsterdam, offering themselves for service in Pennsylvania. Their offer was referred to the Deputies of the Synods, who voted to accept it and asked the candidates to appear at their next regular meeting, in March, 1786.

When Troldenier and Herman left Bremen in February, 1786, for Amsterdam, their fellow-students presented them with a farewell poem, entitled: *At the departure of our friends Mr. Troldenier and Mr. Herman when they were called as ministers from Bremen to North America* [this poem] *was dedicated to them by some friends*. Bremen, in the month of February 1786. Another poem, directly addressed to John George Troldenier, was issued by C. L. Becker, entitled: *Expressions of friendship, at the departure of my friend, John George Troldenier, called as minister to the American States*, by C. L. Becker. Bremen 1786; printed by Diedr. Meier, printer for the Gymnasium.

When the two men appeared before the Deputies in March, 1786, they presented their certificates, which were found to be "very praise-

¹ The name is written indistinctly. It might be Reider, Neider, or some similar name.

worthy." Their examination for ordination included, first, a trial sermon in the Cloister Church at The Hague, on which occasion Troldenier preached from Ps. 116:2 and 12. This was followed by an examination in the ancient languages and was concluded by one on the principal points of theology. They were then ordained and given their calls and their traveling expenses to Pennsylvania.

On their arrival in Philadelphia, in August, 1786, Mr. Troldenier was assigned to the congregation at York, Pa. His first baptism at York is dated December 24, 1786, his last November 1, 1789. Between these two dates he entered 82 baptisms. While pastor at York he married Elizabeth Steg. He came to York at an inauspicious time, when the congregation was divided by strife. It was hoped that he would be able to heal this division, but he was unable to do so. At the Coetus held at Reading, April 23-24, 1788, two parties from York were present with testimonials, one in favor of Troldenier, the other against him. Coetus concluded:

"The truth is, that Mr. Troldenier has been too short a time in America to adapt himself to the feelings of the people, as his predecessor, Mr. Wagner, did. In consideration of this, and because the testimony in his favor is preferred, it was resolved to admonish the congregation, in writing, to forbearance, peace and unity, which was done." Nevertheless the stay of Troldenier in York was brief.

At the Coetus of June 7-8, 1790, Troldenier is reported as having left York "a half a year ago," which brings us to the end of 1789. He had accepted a call to Gettysburg. The statistics of 1790 show that he was serving three congregations in the Gettysburg Charge. In 1791 he reported four congregations in Gettysburg and vicinity.

From Gettysburg Troldenier moved to the old Reformed congregation in Baltimore. The church record at Baltimore states:

"In 1791, after the congregation had been for several years [1789-1791] without a preacher, she called Mr. George Troldenier, from the principality of Anhalt in Germany, who, in view of the miserable condition of the congregation, declined two other calls, in order to accept our call. He came to Baltimore on October 13, 1791. On the Sunday following he delivered his introductory sermon. He found the congregation dissatisfied and scattered on account of the newly-built church, but he saw with pleasure how the members who had left returned eagerly to the services." On November 20, 1891, he administered the Lord's Supper for the first time, to 58 communicants.

According to Dr. Elias Heiner's *Centenary Sermon* [1850] Troldenier's ministry in Baltimore was quite successful and the congregation in good condition. In 1795 the congregation applied to the legislature

for an act of incorporation. As a result they obtained a liberal and excellent charter in December of the same year. According to it, the minister, four elders and four deacons and three trustees, elected by the male members over twenty-one years of age, constituted the church council or consistory.

In the same year, 1795, having become dissatisfied with their church property, which was too near to Jones's Falls and consequently subject to high floods, and also too near to Philpot's Bridge (now Baltimore Street bridge), with its noise from passing vehicles disturbing the church services, the congregation voted to sell the church and the church property. After some delay they were sold to St. Paul's Episcopal Church, in 1796. A new church lot, which had been acquired as early as 1772, was transferred by the surviving trustees, on June 29, 1795, to the elders, deacons, and trustees of the church. It was located on Second Street. The corner-stone of a new church was laid on April 28, 1796, with an appropriate sermon by the pastor, an address by Mr. Otterbein, and a prayer by Dr. Kurtz, the Lutheran pastor. The church was dedicated September 24, 1797, the pastor preaching in the morning, his university friend, Dr. C. L. Becker, in the afternoon, and Mr. Otterbein in the evening.

A new constitution, drawn up by the pastor, was signed by him and the elders on May 14, 1796. A new foundation of the congregation having thus been firmly laid, the church was enabled to grow and prosper in the years that followed. However, the health of Mr. Troldenier had been on the decline for some years and not long after the completion of the new church he died of consumption, on December 12, 1800. His bosom friend, Dr. C. L. Becker, then pastor at Lancaster, preached the funeral sermon, and Messrs. Kurtz and Otterbein assisted in the services. He was buried just outside of the northern wall of the church and immediately under a large window. Troldenier had died in the prime of his life, being less than 47 years of age at the time of his premature death.

ANTHONY HAUTZ

1758-1813

Anthony Hautz was born August 4, 1758, in Germany. His father was Philip Peter Hautz, who arrived at Philadelphia, October 10, 1768, on the ship "Minerva," captain Arndt, master. The family settled in Lebanon (then Lancaster) County. Henry and Christian Hautz are men-

tioned in the church record of Bethel, now Klopp's Church. They were sons of Philip Peter Hautz.¹

Young Anthony learned the tailoring business, which he pursued diligently. But he devoted all his spare time to the reading of books. He soon attracted the attention of his pastor, the Rev. William Hendel, under whom he studied theology when the latter was pastor at Lancaster [1782-1794]. Having finished his studies, he became catechist at Muddy Creek, Cocalico, Reyer's, and Seltenreich. He himself states in the Cocalico record that he began preaching there on August 17, 1786.

In June, 1787, at the Coetus held at Lancaster, these congregations asked Coetus "that Mr. Anthony Hautz, who had studied under Do. Hendel, and for nearly a year served said congregations laudably and with success, might be examined and given to them as their regular pastor." The request of these congregations was granted. Most of the afternoon of June 6, 1787, was given over to the examination of Hautz. At the end of the examination he was declared qualified for the ministry and for ordination. But, before he was ordained, the following pledge was laid before him and was signed by him in the presence of the whole Coetus:

"In the name of God, Amen.

"I, the undersigned, having been examined by the Reverend Coetus and found qualified for the holy ministry, and having been called as pastor of the congregations Cocalico, Muddy Creek, etc., do hereby declare and most solemnly pledge myself before God and His Church, that I will live in accordance with the doctrines, customs, and regulations of our Church, Reformed according to the Word of God; that I will show at all times due respect to the Christian regulations of the Reverend Coetus, and avoid every occasion to cause well-founded offense.

"Given on the sixth day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1787.

"Anthony Hautz.

When this action was laid before the Fathers in Holland they were much displeased and asked for an explanation why it had been done without consulting them. In answer the Coetus acknowledged, in the Coetal letter of 1790, that they had acted hastily, but that the majority of Coetus had voted for it, although there had been some opposition and remonstrances; that the pledge had been taken from Mr. Hautz because he was suspected of false doctrine by some of the brethren; that, as he had declared himself orthodox in his examination, the pledge was taken only "for greater satisfaction." (*Minutes*, 442). The original form of the

¹ See Wm. H. Engle, *History of the County of Lebanon*, [Phila. 1883], 338.

pledge is still preserved in the Harbaugh Collection of documents.

Hautz was pastor of the Cocalico charge till 1790, when he received and accepted a call to Harrisburg and neighboring churches. The first dated baptism of Mr. Hautz at Harrisburg was on July 4, 1790. In the statistics of 1792 (not published in the *Coetus Minutes*), the congregations of Hautz are enumerated as Harrisburg, Middletown, Paxton, and Wenrich's. His entries at Harrisburg continue to 1797.

During his pastorate at Harrisburg Hautz supplied also Hoffman's Church, in Lykens Valley, Dauphin County, from 1791-1797. He opened the church record there with the following inscription on the title-page:

"Church Protocol of the Christian congregation and church at Hoffmann's in Leykens Valley, begun by Anthony Hautz, Reformed pastor at Harrisburg, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1791, July 24th." He preached also at David's church, at Killinger, Upper Paxtang Township, according to his baptismal entries, from 1796 to 1798.

In 1798 Mr. Hautz accepted a call from Carlisle and neighboring churches. There his wife died on November 10, 1802. On February 1, 1803, he was married to his second wife, Catharine Keller, by the Presbyterian pastor at Carlisle.² The congregations belonging to the Carlisle charge were: Trendlespring, Churchtown, and Friedens Church. At the last place a Reformed congregation had been organized by Hautz in 1793, while he was still pastor at Harrisburg. The people had worshipped at first in a schoolhouse, but in 1798 they began building a church. A contemporaneous account of this event has been preserved in the journal of Bishop Christian Newcomer, of the United Brethren Church. Under date of June 12, 1798, he writes:³

"Today we crossed the Susquehanna River. The corner-stone of a union church (called 'Church of Peace'), was to be laid, wherein the Christian preachers of all denominations are to enjoy the privilege of preaching. Such a dedication I had never witnessed, therefore concluded to attend. We found a great multitude assembled. Bro. Geeting was requested to deliver the first discourse. He preached with uncommon power from Isaiah 28:16. A Lutheran minister, by the name of Herbst, delivered the second discourse. I gave an exhortation; after which they proceeded to lay the corner-stone. The Rev. Mr. Hautz concluded the ceremony with an exhortation and prayer. In the afternoon we rode to Carlisle and lodged for the night with Bro. Hautz, who kindly entertained us."

Incidentally, the journal of Bishop Newcomer shows that during

² *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd series, VIII, 575.

³ *Christian Newcomer. His Life, Journal and Achievements*, 29.

that period (1795–1800) the relations between at least some of the Reformed pastors and those who participated in the Otterbein movement were quite friendly.

In 1803 Mr. Hautz visited Seneca County in New York State, where many Germans from Pennsylvania had settled. He looked over the situation and believed that it would be possible to gather one or more congregations in this neighborhood. So he returned to Carlisle and in the spring of 1804 left with his family for the new settlements in Seneca County. He intended to settle among them, and with that thought in mind bought a farm of 100 acres. He began preaching at two school-houses, one known as "Merkel's School House" and the other named "Burg," perhaps on the site of an Indian fort. But the Germans in the new settlements felt themselves too poor to erect churches. Hence Hautz continued to preach in schoolhouses and barns. It was not till December, 1809, that a meeting was called at Hoster's School House, for the purpose of choosing a site for the erection of a house of worship. It was resolved that an acre of land be purchased and a log church, 28 by 22 feet, be erected thereon. He also served Zion's church in Jerusalem, Fayette Township, and at Market's School House.

Seeing that at first he was unable to make much progress with his work in Seneca county, Mr. Hautz moved as early as 1805 to Tompkins County, where other German Reformed and Lutheran church-members had settled. They had two schoolhouses—in Lansing and Salmon Creek—in which Mr. Hautz preached. In 1809 a Lutheran minister, Rev. Lot Merkel, came into the country. By their united efforts he and Mr. Hautz succeeded in having a union church built by their people. It was dedicated on April 21, 1811, by the two ministers. It was called Zion's Church. After preaching in Seneca and Tompkins Counties for ten years, Mr. Hautz retired to Groton, in Tompkins County, where he died on April 2, 1813. He was buried in Etna Cemetery, near Dryden. The inscription on his tombstone reads:

REV. ANTHONY HAUTZ

Died April 2, 1813,

Aged 84 years

7 months & 28 days.

Behold and see as you pass by

As you are now so once was I

As I am now so you must be

Prepare to die and follow me.

Mr. Hautz is described as "hospitable and kind, also firm and determined." His personal appearance is reported to have been "tall,

slim, and meagre. He had a dark complexion, with a large aquiline nose. He was "somewhat impulsive," but able to control his temper.

DIEDRICH CHRISTIAN ANDREW PICK

(—)-1802

On September 6, 1788, the Deputies of the Synods of Holland received a letter from the Rev. A. Verburg, clerk of the Classical Commissioners, announcing the arrival of a new candidate for Pennsylvania and recommending him to the Deputies for their consideration. He was the Rev. Christopher Andrew Pick,¹ who, according to a testimonial of the Consistory of Cassel, had been examined there, and who, according to the declaration of that Consistory, had come to them with laudatory testimonials from the Universities of Marburg and Goettingen. He was also reported to have been rector of a Latin school at Vache, in Hesse. Unfortunately, the matriculation books of Marburg and Goettingen show no evidence of his ever having matriculated at either place. Nor is there a place called Vache in Hesse. It may have been intended for Vaake, given in 1904 as a village of 737 inhabitants.

On the same day, September 6, 1788, Pick appeared before the Deputies and asked to be sent to Pennsylvania. His examination was set for 10 A.M., September 7th. Having preached from Romans 5:1, he was examined in the ancient languages, Greek and Hebrew, and in the principal points of theology, with the result that he was accepted for service in Pennsylvania and was ordained by the President of the Deputies, with the laying on of hands of all the members of the assembly. He also signed the Formula of Concord and took the oath against simony. Then his call was handed to him and he was given the usual traveling expenses, 250 *fl.* with an extra gift of 30 *fl.*

Mr. Pick arrived in New York in the early part of February, 1788. Being absolutely without funds, he wrote on February 26, 1788, to Dr. Casper Weyberg, of Philadelphia, asking him for £100, to pay his debts and enable him to continue his journey to Philadelphia. Dr. Weyberg replied, on March 4, 1788, that his request was impossible of fulfilment;

¹ The name in the minutes of the Deputies is Christopher Andrew Pick. He signs himself as D. C. A. Pick. Dr. Corwin in his *Manual* gives it as Diederich Christian A. Pick.

that all the vacant congregations had been supplied with pastors, so that there was no opening for him, and that neither the Coetus nor any congregation was able to give him such a large sum of money. He was, therefore, advised to apply to the Dutch Reformed ministers in New York for help in securing a call to a congregation in that province. This answer made Mr. Pick furious. He replied without restraint, writing among other things: "I could not have written a more impertinent letter to the lowest and meanest tramp." That settled definitely that he was not coming to Pennsylvania. Both Coetus and Pick sent copies of their correspondence to the Fathers in Holland, who, however, acquiesced in the action of the Coetus refusing to receive him.

As a result Pick entered the Dutch Reformed Coetus of New York. According to Dr. E. T. Corwin (*Manual*, p. 651) Pick served successively the following congregations: Canajoharie and Stone Arabia, 1788-96; Stone Arabia, 1796-98, German Flats and Herkimer, 1798-1800. In the latter year he was suspended from the ministry. He died in 1802. Dr. Corwin describes him as a "portly man," who had the reputation of a great orator, whose sermons were attended by large crowds.

GEORGE ADAM GUETING (GEETING)

1741-1812

George Adam Gueting, son of John Ebert Gueting¹ and his wife Elizabeth, nee Greb, was born February 6, 1741, at Niederschelden, near Siegen, then in the county of Nassau-Siegen, now in the province of Westphalia. The village of Nieder-Schelden was a part of the Siegen parish. Hence the marriage of his parents, in 1728, as well as the baptisms of their four children are recorded in the church records at Siegen. George Adam was their youngest child.

As a boy, George Adam received a fair education, including some knowledge of Latin. In his eighteenth year (1759) he came to this country. Owing to the French-English (or Indian) war, 1756-1763, he could not have come in company with a large group of immigrants, but as a single passenger, landing most likely at Baltimore, from which place he proceeded to a place near Keedysville, on the Antietam, Washington County, Maryland, until 1776 a part of Frederick County. There he settled for the rest of his life. At first he taught school for a number of

¹ The name of the family is GÜding in the Siegen records, Gueting in the records of Coetus, and Geeting in the records of the United Brethren Church.

years. In his schoolhouse Mr. Otterbein preached occasionally and through his influence Gueting was led to think of the ministry. He pursued his theological studies under the supervision of Mr. Otterbein, and through him he was persuaded to act as catechist at Antietam and neighborhood.

In April, 1788, Gueting and Otterbein were present at the meeting of Coetus in Reading. There Gueting presented himself for examination and ordination, which after a long discussion pro and con was granted to him. The minutes of 1788 have this record:

"The principal reasons why his request was complied with are the following: The congregations [Antietam, etc.] in Maryland, which he serves, are feeble and cannot contribute half a salary. Thus no minister from Europe is deprived of a place through him. Moreover, he labored in the congregations for several years as catechist,² under Do. Otterbein. Ordination has been specially requested by him, for the reason that he might render assistance to Do. Otterbein as well as to the congregations, since, on account of the distance of the locality, Otterbein cannot go there often."

After 1788 Gueting was present at the meetings of the Synod³ only in 1794 and 1797, when his residence is given as Antietam, but he submitted no reports of his pastoral activity. In 1804 he was expelled from Synod for "disorderly conduct," by a vote of 20 against him and 17 in his favor. We are not told the nature of his offense, but he was informed that on "giving evidence of true reformation" he would be reinstated.

Meanwhile he had thrown himself heartily into the Otterbein movement. As early as 1796 he accompanied Bishop Christian Newcomer, of the United Brethren, in his preaching tours, during which Gueting preached frequently in Reformed churches. From 1800 to 1812 he acted as secretary of the annual conferences of the United Brethren and played a prominent part as Otterbein's assistant.⁴ He died June 28, 1812, and was buried at Mt. Hebron, near Keedysville, Md.

² Antietam is first mentioned in the Coetus minutes of 1783, when Otterbein was serving it (*Minutes*, 386).

³ The Coetus of Pennsylvania became the Synod of the German Reformed Church in 1793.

⁴ See *Christian Newcomer*. 18; also Dr. A. W. Drury, *History of the Church of the United Brethren*, [rev. ed. 1931], 107-110.

ALOYSIUS (LEWIS) CHITERA

(—)-1791

Aloysius Chitera appears for the first time in the matriculation book of the University of Basel, in Switzerland. On April 11, 1783, he matriculated there as follows:

"Aloysius Chitera, born at Hochstadt in the Upper Palatinate."

Regarding this entry Professor Heinzelmann of Basel University writes: "According to a letter from the Rev. Dr. Maurer, of Hochstadt in Ober-Franken, there is no Hochstadt in the Upper Palatinate."

The next reference to Chitera is found in the minutes of the South Holland Synod held at Dort, July 5-15, 1785. The Deputies reported that "a proselyte, named Aloysius Chitera, a former Augustinian monk, who escaped from a Catholic monastery in Switzerland, and had given his adherence to the Reformed faith, was also provided with good testimonials, was given 50 *fl.* as traveling expenses to Pennsylvania and was recommended to the Coetus as a teacher or for any other position for which he is fitted."

The reception of Chitera by the Deputies and his mission to Pennsylvania must have happened in the early part of 1785, because the minutes of the Coetus of Pennsylvania held April 27-28, 1785, report the arrival of Chitera in Pennsylvania and his appearance before the meeting of Coetus:

"Resolved, since Mr. Chitara [*sic*] possesses the best testimonials and seems to have faithful and honest intentions, it was deemed necessary to help him in every way. To this end it was resolved that Mr. Chitara shall remain for a time with a minister, who shall instruct him in those things requisite for a minister to know, so that he may be of greater use in the service of the Church, and, if deemed advisable, may be ordained. This instruction and direction Do. Hendel undertook to give him."

In answer, the Classical Commissioners replied, April 8, 1786, that they had sent Chitera to Pennsylvania as a schoolmaster, but not as a minister.

In the *Harbaugh Collection* there is a document, dated Nolton, October 23, 1787, in which Chitera is accused of practicing incantations over a sick child. But, as there is no reference to such accusation in the Coetus minutes, it was probably dropped before it reached official recognition and action.

In April, 1788, Mr. Chitera "appeared in person for ordination, so that he might be able also to administer the sacraments. Since, on the one hand, the Reverend Fathers have already given their kind approval, and, on the other hand, this man has passed, under the supervision of Do. Wack, through a period of probation lasting two years, instead of one, and has brought sufficient recommendation and testimonial of his conduct and ministry in respect to preaching and catechization, it was resolved that he shall be ordained in his present congregation, Knowlton, in Sussex county, New Jersey, according to your will and the prescribed order of the Church."

Chitera was present at the Coetus held June 10-11, 1789, at Philadelphia, when his residence is given as Nolton. His is said to have preached also at Hartwick, Sussex County, New Jersey. In 1790 he received £9 from the Holland donations. His name was dropped from the Coetus minutes in 1791, which was probably the year of his death. Dr. Harbaugh reports him as preaching in Nolton for four or five years. As he began there in 1787, four years would have brought him to 1791. He is said to have married a tall woman, "he himself being nearly seven feet in height." His wife died early, leaving him a son. He followed her in death six or eight weeks later.

PHILIP REINHOLD PAULI

1742-1815

Philip Reinhold Pauli was descended from a distinguished ministerial family. His grandfather, the Rev. Herman Reinhold Pauli, who acted as one of the sponsors at his baptism, was court preacher at Halle. His father, Rev. Ernest Ludwig Pauli, came to Halle 1739-40. There he married, November 14, 1741, Magdalena Christine Guichart, of the Walloon colony of Halle. From 1740 to 48 he was third pastor, from 1758 to 63 second pastor, of the Reformed congregation at Magdeburg. Later, from 1763 to 65, he was Consistorial Counsellor at Halberstadt. From there he went to Bernburg, in 1765, where he was superintendent and court preacher. He died there April 23, 1783.¹

Philip Reinhold Pauli was born at Magdeburg, June 22, 1742, and was baptized there June 25. He studied in the public school of his native city and at the Joachimsthal Gymnasium (College) at Berlin. Dr. Har-

¹ Based on Dr. Ralph Meyer, *Geschichte der deutsch-reformirten Gemeinde in Magdeburg*, (1914), I, 217; and private letters of Prof. August Lang, of Halle University.

baugh reports him as having studied also at Halle and Leipzig, but after careful search his name could not be found in the matriculation book of either university.

He arrived in this country in 1783, after a distressing and dangerous voyage. Shortly after his arrival he became teacher of Latin in the Academy of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania. He was unmarried when he came to Pennsylvania, but, on February 14, 1784, he was married to Anna Elizabeth Musch, daughter of John and Catharine Musch.

Mr. Pauli appeared in May, 1786, before the Coetus of Pennsylvania. The minutes state:

"A gentleman, by the name of Philip Pauli, who spent his school years in his birthplace, Magdeburg, and pursued his subsequent studies at Berlin, in the Joachim Gymnasium, and later studied theology in the University of Halle, having been compelled to come to America by reason of deaths, which hindered [his studies], because of sickness, made application to us, in writing, requesting examination and ordination. This gentleman has given instruction in the Latin language in the Philadelphia Academy for more than a year and a half, and during this time has preached very acceptably on Sunday evenings, as was testified before the Coetus. It was, therefore resolved that after satisfactorily passing his examination, he shall be ordained in the congregation that will call him, which will probably be Reading. We hope that the Reverend Fathers will approve our action."

On March 14, 1787, the Deputies of the Synods consented that Mr. Pauli, after "approval of his examination, be ordained and installed in the congregation which calls him." But, when Mr. Pauli appeared once more before Coetus, in April, 1788, it was found that he had not been successful in passing his preliminary examination. He was then granted a second examination, "because he has exercised himself in preaching, and especially because he has, together with Mr. Chitara, the consent of your Reverences, our highly esteemed Fathers." He passed this second examination successfully, for we find him officiating at Whitpain (now Boehm's at Blue Bell), and at Wentz's Church, in Worcester Township. He began his baptismal entries at Wentz's Church on October 25, 1789, and continued them to April 1, 1793. At Whitpain his entries run from August 2, 1789, to September 12, 1792. At the meeting of Coetus held May 6-7, 1792, Do. Pauli, "who had already been ordained several years before, applied for reception into the Coetus, which was unanimously granted by the Coetus [and he was accordingly admitted to seat and vote]."

In the beginning of 1793 Pauli accepted a call from the congregation at Reading, which was approved by the Coetus, meeting April 27-30,

1793. His first baptism at Reading is dated February 26, 1793. The coming of Pauli to Reading was an auspicious event, which infused new life and activity into the congregation. One evidence of this new life was the size of his catechetical classes. His first class in 1793 consisted of 51 persons; that of 1797 of 69; that of 1810 of 73; and that of 1811 of 92 persons. Pauli was the first Reformed preacher in Reading who kept a careful and full record of his pastoral activity. He was a good preacher and his services were well attended. He spoke with much fervor in the pulpit and was also a good pastor. Before his time there was evidently little pastoral visiting. On February 3, 1813, the consistory resolved, that the pastor should visit the members once a year, in company with an elder.

For many years the congregation had carried a considerable debt, which went back to the large stone church built in 1761. In the early part of his ministry (already in 1794) a subscription was taken up to clear the debt, with good results, and 956 pounds were paid off. In the latter part of Pauli's ministry the debt was completely wiped out, in 1814. Beginning with the year 1813, complete and itemized records were kept of receipts and expenditures, from which it appears that in 1813 Pauli's salary was fixed at 130 pounds per year.

Mr. Pauli served also several country congregations, among them Sinking Spring and Schwarzwald. How well the Reading congregation flourished is seen by his pastoral report for the year 1814. He reported to Synod in that year 255 baptisms, 98 catechumens, 511 communicants, and 177 burials. Mr. Pauli was a prominent member of the Coetus, and after 1792 of the Synod. In 1793 he was appointed a member of the committee to publish a new hymn book, which appeared in 1797.

Mr. Pauli died at Reading January 27, 1815, aged 72 years, 7 months, and 4 days. The funeral took place on the 29th, in the Lutheran Church, because it could better accommodate the large number of people who attended. Rev. William Hendel, Jr., preached the funeral sermon from II Kings 2:12, followed by an address of the Rev. Jacob W. Dechant. Burial was in the Reformed graveyard close to the church. When the present church was erected in 1832, it was removed some distance from the church, and in 1869 was transferred to Charles Evans Cemetery.

Two of his sons entered the ministry of the Reformed Church: the Rev. William Pauli, 1792-1855, and the Rev. Charles Augustus Pauli, 1804-1871. The former immediately succeeded his father in Reading and continued as pastor until 1842.

JONATHAN RAHAUSER

1764–1817

Jonathan Rahauser was born December 14, 1764, in Dover Township, York County. He was baptized in Strayer's Church, Dover Township, December 25, 1764, by the Rev. Jacob Lischy. His parents were Daniel and Barbara Rahauser.

Up to his twenty-first year he was a farmer, assisting his father on the family farm. About that time, however, he turned his thoughts to the ministry. On August 17, 1785, he began his theological studies with the Rev. William Hendel, Sr., at that time pastor of the Lancaster church. He continued his studies for nearly four years, till May 22, 1789, when he preached his first sermon, from II Tim. 3:16, 17, in what was called Bier's church, about twelve miles from Lancaster.¹

Shortly afterwards he received a call from the churches in the district known as Shamokin, near the junction of the West and North Branches of the Susquehanna, where there had been Reformed churches since 1776 (*Minutes*, 354). The churches were: Mahony, Sunbury, Middle Creek, and Buffalo Valley. A representative of the congregations took him to this new field of labor, where they arrived September 23, 1789. Although he was not yet ordained, he supplied these congregations with preaching and catechetical instruction. At the next meeting of Coetus, on June 7–8, 1790, five congregations, beyond the Blue Mountains, "in a region generally called Shamokin," through a delegate petitioned Coetus for the examination and ordination of young Rahauser. Coetus resolved to examine him and to report the result to the Synods of Holland.

At the Coetus of 1791, held, June 27–28, at Lancaster, the case of Rahauser came up again, and, as Coetus had received no reply from Holland, it was resolved, "as the circumstances were very pressing," to ordain Mr. Rahauser and Mr. Stock, another candidate from York county, to the holy ministry. Their ordination took place on June 27, 1791.

One of the few letters of Rahauser that have come down to us was written from Buffalo Valley to Rev. John Faber, pastor at Goshenhoppen, in which he states that he received Faber's letter on the day he

¹ See Harbaugh, *Fathers*, III, 33. The writer is unable to identify this church. It does not appear in any of the early statistics.

preached at Middle Creek.

His pastorate in Buffalo Valley was brief. In May, 1790, Rev. Jacob Weymer had died at Hagerstown, Md. Hence the congregation of Hagerstown appealed to Coetus for a new pastor. But, as there was a number of vacancies at that time, Coetus was unable to help them. As a result they themselves looked around for a minister and sent a call to Mr. Rahauser, who visited them in June, 1792, preached for them, and accepted their call. Early in October of the same year he removed to Hagerstown, where he preached his introductory sermon on October 10, 1792. The Coetus of April, 1793, held at Philadelphia, approved the change.

His new field of labor was very extensive. It embraced not only Hagerstown, but also Funkstown, Troxel's, Greencastle, Mercersburg, Besore's, Millerstown, Emmitsburg, and Appel's. It covered Washington County and part of Frederick County, Maryland. It extended also over Franklin and Adams Counties in Pennsylvania. Over this wide district Rahauser traveled, preaching the Gospel, administering the sacraments, teaching catechumens, visiting the sick, and attending the funerals of his parishioners. It was a very difficult field of labor. From his home to his most distant congregation he had to travel twenty-eight miles. In 1809 his labors were somewhat lightened, when he was able to resign Emmitsburg and Appel's and to hand them over to his brother, Frederick Rahauser.

During the first ten years of his ministry in the Hagerstown charge, he preached 1361 sermons, baptized and confirmed a large number of children and young people, and married about 2500 couples.

In the fall of 1816 he passed through a severe sickness, so that the state of his health was precarious and he was unable to preach for a number of months.

In 1817 he recovered his health to some extent, but in August of that year he had a serious accident. After preaching in St. Paul's Church, nine miles west of Hagerstown, he was compelled to cross the Conococheague creek in flood. He nearly lost his life while crossing the swollen waters of the river in his one horse carriage. He reached home thoroughly chilled and weak. A sickness followed, which ended his life on September 25, 1817. He was buried in the Reformed cemetery connected with the Hagerstown church. His tombstone has a German inscription, which may be rendered into English as follows:

In Memory of the
REV. JONATHAN RAHAUSER
German Reformed minister

Born in York county
 December 14, 1764
 Served almost 25 years
 in Hagerstown as a faithful
 Preacher of the Gospel
 Died September 25, 1817.
 Aged 52 years, 9 months and 9 days.

During the last year of his life he published a German-English catechism, a short extract from the *Heidelberg Catechism*, Hagerstown, 1817.

JOHN PHILIP STOCK

1759-(---)

John Philip Stock, son of John Peter Stock, citizen and hatter, and his wife Anna Catharina, nee Steuer, was born at Treysa, Hesse, on July 12, 1759, and was baptized there July 17, 1759. He was confirmed on Easter day, 1773, as the first of 19 boys.

He matriculated at the University of Duisburg on October 6, 1786, as a student of theology. In this country he appears for the first time in June, 1790, before the Reformed Coetus. An elder from the congregation in York asked Coetus for the ordination of "Mr. Stock, a young preacher, who arrived here a year ago from Duisburg, Germany, having very good testimonials concerning his learning and conduct, so that Mr. Stock, who for some time had supplied the congregation with preaching, might in the future be their regular pastor and perform all ministerial acts." But, as Coetus was not permitted to ordain anyone without securing first the consent of the Fathers in Holland, it was resolved "to postpone the desired ordination and to await the consent of the Reverend Fathers from Holland."

Meanwhile Mr. Stock began his ministerial activity at York, entering his first baptism on February 9, 1790, and until May 18, 1792, entering a total of 40 baptisms.

As no permission was received from Holland regarding the ordination of Mr. Stock, Coetus, at its next meeting, in June, 1791, held at Lancaster, resolved, "as the circumstances of the congregations were very pressing," that both Mr. Philip Stock and Jonathan Rahausser, another candidate from York county, be ordained, which ordination took place June 27, 1791.

In May, 1792, Stock reported that he had received a call from the united congregations of Shippensburg, Chambersburg, and Scherer's,

and he asked Coetus whether he should accept it. "After a full consideration of the circumstances, it was decided that he should accept the call and proceed to these congregations."

While pastor at Chambersburg, Mr. Stock had under his instruction, 1798-1801, Mr. John Brown, whom he trained for the ministry and who for many years (1803-1850) was a very useful and distinguished Reformed minister in the Valley of Virginia. How long Mr. Stock remained in the Chambersburg charge cannot be made out, as the old church record of the congregation, covering that period, perished in the Chambersburg fire during the Civil War. It may be assumed that it was in 1805, when his name was dropped in the minutes of Synod.

According to Dr. Dubbs (*Hist. Manual*, 413) he moved to Ohio and died at Wooster, Ohio, at an unknown date.

JOHN THEOBALD FABER, JR.

1771-1833

John Theobald Faber, Jr., was born in the parsonage of the New Goshenhoppen Church, in Upper Hanover Township, Montgomery County, as the eldest son of his parents, the Rev. John Theobald Faber, Sr., and his wife, Barbara, nee Roos. The father himself entered the record of his birth in the New Goshenhoppen book: "On September 24, 1771, a son was born to me, Pastor Faber, named Johannes Theobald. Witness was Daniel Gros, minister at Saucon and Springfield."

As a boy young Faber attended the parochial school of the New Goshenhoppen congregation and he also enjoyed the additional instruction of his father. When fifteen years of age he headed a class of 61 catechumens, who were confirmed by his father on April 9, 1787. He pursued his classical studies under the Rev. Frederick V. Melsheimer, pastor of the Lutheran congregation at Hanover, York County, and studied theology under the Rev. Dr. William Hendel, pastor at Lancaster, Pa. As his whole course of study covered only three years (1789-1791), it was hurried and incomplete.

At the meeting of the Coetus held on May 6-7, 1792, at Philadelphia, an elder from Goshenhoppen presented a call for young Mr. Faber to become the successor of his late father, requesting that he be examined and ordained. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Hendel, Helffrich and Pomp, was appointed to examine him. It reported the next day, "that he had not given such satisfactory answers to the dogmatical questions proposed as they had expected from him; still out of regard to the Goshen-

hoppem congregations and his widowed mother, the examination was approved. By a majority of votes he was recognized as qualified for the ministry, and it was resolved that Domines Helffrich, Blumer, Pomp, and Delliker be a committee to ordain him as soon as possible."

His ordination took place on June 23, 1792, as appears from the following letter, which Faber received from the Rev. Frederick Delliker, pastor of Falkner Swamp:

"My dear Faber:—

I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart, on the successful issue of your examination. The Lord sustain you continually. The request, *deo volente*, I will endeavor to comply with and preach the sermon on the day of your ordination. I have received no letter from Synod, but have at hand one addressed to Pastor Helffrich. We will speak more definitely, when I shall have the pleasure to be with you on the day before the 23rd of June.

I am, Reverend Sir, in sincere friendship,

Your humble servant,

Fred. Delliker.

Our highest regards to you all.
Falkner Swamp, May 12, 1792."

Dr. Weiser has preserved a traditional account of Faber's introductory sermon, from one who heard it, which may well be repeated:

"In his introductory (sermon) he did not fail to call attention to the peculiar solemn position, in which he found himself placed. The death of his beloved father, occurring as it were in the very spot on which he was then speaking; his mouldering remains lying under his very feet; his youth, and hasty preparation to become his sire's successor; the questionable propriety to become a prophet in his own country—on all these points the young pastor delicately touched with much trembling and many tears. One who heard it all says: When he exclaimed, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' all became strangely affected, and many wept."

In the spring of 1792 young Faber began his pastoral work in his three congregations. As the regulations of the *Synodal-Ordnung*, (p. 10), then prevailing, allowed a licentiate to administer the sacraments, we find Faber baptizing children in May, 1792, before he was ordained. During the first few years he kept the various church records fairly well. He entered baptisms with some regularity, from 1792 to 1796, but after the latter date his records were neglected, no entries of any sort being made after January 1, 1797. It may, of course, be that he kept private records, but none have come down to us. On December 3, 1793, Faber

signed his first receipt for salary, from the New Goshenhoppen congregation, amounting to £24.8s.11d. That was probably one third of the whole amount he received from the charge. Later his salary was increased. Beginning with 1803 Old Goshenhoppen paid its pastor £33. 6s. 8d.

On April 1, 1796, Mr. Faber was married to Maria Arndt, eldest daughter of Captain John Arndt of Easton, at which occasion the Rev. Thomas Pomp of Easton officiated. He now established himself in the parsonage and thus became fully his father's successor.

He was much interested in the parochial schools of his parish, and when the attempt was made to establish public schools the members of his congregation, under his leadership, sent an earnest protest to the legislature, asking that no law be passed which would compel them to pay for the support of both the public schools and their own, long established, parochial schools.

In 1801 the four united congregations of Northampton (Allentown), Jordan, Union, and Egypt extended a call to Mr. Faber, but he declined it.

Faber attended the meetings of Synod regularly, except in 1803 and 1806. In the former year he was sick. In 1807 he was clerk of Synod and in 1808 its president. A letter of Jacob Senn, pastor of Tohickon and Indianfield, still preserved in the Historical Society of the Reformed Church at Lancaster, refers to his sickness in 1803. It reads:

Rockhill, February 22, 1803.

Dear Friend and Brother!

I received your letter and heard with pleasure that you are again improving. I entertain the hope, that (God willing) you will soon regain your former health and strength, and thus be able to attend again to your ministry, which is no doubt much to be desired both by yourself and your congregations.

I have also had sickness in my family for a long time. My wife has been unwell for almost two years and sometimes I had little hope for her recovery, but now (thank God) she is better again.

As regards your request, I am willing and ready to serve you, but I cannot do it at the time set by you. I can never take a Sunday off (as you no doubt know yourself) without first informing the congregation, and that cannot be done before three weeks. Three weeks from yesterday I am, therefore, ready to serve you, if that is agreeable to you. You may therefore announce it, if agreeable, that I shall conduct services for you on March 13th.

With a friendly greeting to yourself and wife, I remain,

Your friend and servant,

Rev. Mr. J. T. Faber,
New Goshenhoppen.

Jacob Senn.

In course of time opposition arose to Mr. Faber, especially from his younger church members. They could not well accept their former playmate as their pastor. They wanted to hear a new voice and look upon another leader. Hence, when in 1807 a call came to him from the New Holland charge in Lancaster County, he accepted it.

The new charge of which Faber became pastor in 1807 consisted of New Holland, Keller's, Muddy Creek, and Zion's, near Brickerville. It was a large rural charge, which proved to be very laborious and hardly able to support him. In one year Faber gave a receipt to the New Holland congregation for \$120.00 as one year's salary. Even that sum was not always made up.

As a result, when Goshenhoppen became vacant in 1818, through the departure of Rev. F. W. Van der Sloom, Jr., who moved to Philadelphia, Faber was glad to accept a call from his former congregations, just as his father had been glad to return from Lancaster to Goshenhoppen thirty-two years before.

However, everything was not smooth sailing. While New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp were unanimously in favor of him, Old Goshenhoppen strenuously objected. The call of New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp, extended to Faber on March 31, 1819, assured him: "The general esteem and confidence which we have ever borne you manifested itself also at the time of your election, on which occasion the congregations New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp cast a unanimous vote in your favor." As to Old Goshenhoppen, they believed that it would be obliged to submit to the will of the majority. But they were disappointed in that expectation. His neighboring pastor, John Henry Hoffmeier, of Lancaster, warned Faber to consider well the situation and urged him not to accept a call that promised trouble. But the pressure from Goshenhoppen proved too strong and Faber returned to his former field. Old Goshenhoppen asked Synod, when it convened in September, 1819, at Lancaster, to be allowed to call another minister, and, although a committee of Synod strongly advised them to unite with the other two congregations and not to sever a bond of eighty-two years standing (1737-1819), nevertheless Old Goshenhoppen persisted in its determination and elected Jacob William Dechant as its pastor, an action which Synod felt bound to confirm.

The loss of Old Goshenhoppen was made up to Faber, first by Trappe, which entered the charge in 1819, later by Upper Milford (a union church). During Faber's pastorate at Goshenhoppen the parsonage was repaired and the deed to the pastor's farm or glebe was secured. There is only one more event, by which his second pastorate at Goshenhoppen came to a dramatic climax, that needs to be mentioned. It is

the remarkable manner of his death, which closely paralleled that of his father. We may fittingly quote the description of Dr. Weiser, who has done so much to preserve the history of the congregation:

"Pastor Faber's history, like that of his sainted father, came suddenly and solemnly to a close. At the funeral services of Mrs. Peter Maurer he was taken ill in the middle of his discourse and sank away. The excitement of the congregation cannot well be described. It was on the first day of February, just forty-five years later than the time his father had received his final call to the eternal world. Several helping hands bore the sick pastor away to the schoolhouse and subsequently to the parsonage. Here he lingered ten days. His death occurred on the 16th day of February, 1833, at an age of 61 years, 4 months and 11 days."¹

His remains were laid alongside of those of his father, beneath the chancel of the church. His Lutheran colleague, Rev. Frederick Waage, preached the funeral sermon from Hebr. 13:7. Of his children, two sons and two daughters, only one survived him. Over the tomb of the older Faber were inscribed the words, "Approach lightly"; over that of his son, "Depart softly." The younger Faber is described as tall of stature, differing in that respect from his father, who is said to have been a man of small, portly figure, full of vivacity and jovial.

JOHN MANN

1742 (?)—1804

The first introduction that we have to John Mann is found in the minutes of the Coetus of 1792, held at Philadelphia, May 5, 1792. At this meeting "a call was presented from Saucon and Springfield townships, which were formerly served by Do. Winkhaus, for Do. Mann, with the request that he be ordained to the ministerial office as soon as possible. It was postponed for further consideration." At the second session the case of Mr. Mann was taken up again. It was then resolved that at the close of the session an examination on certain truths of our faith be held with him by the committee appointed for the examination of Mr. John Faber, Jr., namely, Messrs. Hendel, Pomp, Helffrich, and Blumer. At the third session the committee which had been appointed to examine him "on different fundamental articles of faith, reported that the examination had resulted to their complete satisfaction, and that Mr. Mann was found not only well-grounded in theological sciences, but also pure

¹ A similar contemporaneous account, but not quite so full as the one by Dr. Weiser, is found in the *Messenger* of March 1833.

in the doctrine of the church. In answer to the question whether Mr. Mann should be ordained, it was resolved that Dos. Blumer, Helffrich, Pomp, and Delliker ordain him at such a time as they shall appoint."

The result of Mr. Mann's examination and the fact of his consequent ordination do not agree with the common opinion (Good, *History*, 641) that Mr. Mann was a farmer, and that, after serving Lower Saucon a few years, he returned to farming. For (1) Mann showed in all his entries a good handwriting, which stamps him a man of good education, who used Latin correctly in his entries. (2) The examination by Coetus showed that he had received a good theological education, for "he was well grounded in the theological sciences." There was only a question of his orthodoxy, which his examination set at rest, "for he was pure in the doctrine of the church." Where did he get his good education? Not in this country, otherwise his teacher would have been named, as in many other instances. It must therefore have been in Europe. This caused the writer to examine closely the matriculation books of the Universities of Duisburg, Marburg, and Heidelberg, with the result that only one John Mann was found. He matriculated at Marburg, May 4, 1765, as from Hersfeld in Hesse. Contact with the Reformed pastor at Hersfeld, the Rev. Mr. Gonnermann, established the fact that a John Mann, son of John Christopher Mann and Maria Elizabeth Hardusch, was born at Hersfeld and was baptized there September 18, 1742. It is, therefore, possible, we may say even probable, that this boy born in 1742 at Hersfeld is identical with the Rev. John Mann who was ordained in 1792 by the committee of Coetus appointed for that purpose.

In 1795 two communications were received by the Synod from the Saucon congregation, one against Mann, making certain complaints, another in his favor. Synod finally resolved that in case Mr. Mann should receive a call elsewhere, he was allowed to accept it. In the record of the Lower Saucon congregation is found this statement: "John Mann is dismissed and goes to Mount Bethel, where he engages in farming." This is corroborated by a deed, dated May 6, 1796, which shows that John Mann, minister, bought from John Bittender a tract of land in Upper Mount Bethel township, consisting of 45 acres and 88 perches, for 273 pounds.¹ However, this tells by no means the whole story, for at the same time, 1796-1798, Mann ministered to the Upper and Lower Mt. Bethel Churches. In 1798 he crossed the Blue Mountains and from 1798 to 1800 ministered to the Smithfield and Middle Smithfield Churches in what is now Monroe County.

While pastor at Lower Saucon, Mr. Mann married, August 12, 1793,

¹ Recorder of Deeds Office, Easton, Book C. vol. 2, p. 476.

Elizabeth Roessly, daughter of Conrad Roessly, who, when he died May 21, 1794, left a wife and seven children, one of whom was Elizabeth, wife of Rev. John Mann, mentioned in his will.

Mr. Mann was absent from the meetings of Synod, 1796–1802. At the latter date his name was dropped from the minutes. In the Reading Church record is the following entry among the burials:

“Mr. J. Mann, pastor at Kirchenstettel (Churchtown), died April 27, 1804.”

His wife survived him for many years. She resided in Upper Mt. Bethel Township, where she died February 8, 1832. She is buried in the cemetery of the Stone Church, in Upper Mount Bethel Township.

INDEPENDENT
REFORMED MINISTERS



INDEPENDENT REFORMED MINISTERS

PAULUS VAN VLECQ

PASTOR IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1710–1713



PAULUS VAN VLECQ cannot strictly be called a German Reformed minister, because he preached in the Dutch language to a Dutch Reformed congregation and labored under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church. Hence a sketch of his life is found in Webster's *History of the Presbyterian Church in America* (p. 338f.), as well as in Dr. Corwin's *Manual of the Dutch Reformed Church in America* (p. 860f.). But the German Reformed Church also has some claim to him, because out of his work grew the two German Reformed congregations of Skippack and Whitemarsh. So he was an immediate precursor of John Philip Boehm, and as such laid the foundation for Mr. Boehm's work. Besides, the congregation Neshaminy, which he founded, was at a later time (1752–1772) an integral part of the Coetus of Pennsylvania. Hence he deserves also a place in the history of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania (See Good, *History*, p. 64–66.)

Paulus Van Vlecq appears for the first time in the year 1702. The minutes of the Provincial Council of the State of New York, under date November 12, 1702, record:

“His Excellency (the Governor) in Council being informed that one Paulus Van Vleck¹ hath lately wandered about the country preaching, notwithstanding he hath formerly been forbidden by his Excellency to do the same and is lately called by some Inhabitants to be their Clerk without any license from his Excellency for so doing, It is hereby ordered that the high Sheriff of the County of Albany do take care to send the said Van Vleck down by the first opportunity to answer his contempt before the Board.” (*Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, III, 538).

This information about Van Vlecq's preaching was evidently incorrect, for on Nov. 30, 1702, the inhabitants of Kinderhook came to his defense with a certificate, in which they declared “that Paulus Van Vleq during the whole time he hath resided here and since he was accepted as Precentor and Schoolmaster of our church hath truly comported himself to the great content of our congregation, and that, in the time he was

¹ As each man is the best judge of the spelling of his name, and as Van Vlecq himself wrote his name with a final *q*, we follow his spelling.

forbidden to preach he hath never preached in house or barn or in any place in Kinderhook, but that he performed the office of precentor as one Hendrik Abelsen, before his death, hath done at Kinderhook."

We lose sight of Van Vlecq until 1709, when an expedition against the French in Canada was undertaken. At that time an attempt was made to have Van Vlecq ordained, so as to enable him to accompany the expeditionary forces as a Dutch chaplain.

The *Journal of the New York Assembly* has the following record:

"Die Martis (Tuesday) 8 ho. A.M. 21. Junii 1709. . . . The house taking into consideration a person fit to preach and read prayers in the Dutch tongue, to those not acquainted with the English language, that will serve in the expedition, was informed that one Paulus Van Vleck is willing to serve her Majesty [Queen Anne] on the expedition to Canada as a minister or reader to the Dutch ordered on said expedition.

"Ordered that Mr. DuBois, Mr. Freeman, and Mr. Antonides, Dutch ministers, do, before Tuesday next, examine the said Van Vleck in the presence of two of her Majesty's Council, and two of the members of the House acquainted with the Dutch language, and if said Van Vleck be found orthodox, to ordain and qualify him for the ministerial function accordingly."

However, on Friday, June 24, 1709, the two ministers, Mr. DuBois and Mr. Antonides, sent in a memorial in which they set forth that they were "not empowered to ordain any person to the ministerial function in the Dutch churches, by the direction of the Classis of Amsterdam; therefore pray that they may not be ordered to do anything inconsistent with the Constitution of the Church to which they belong."

The *Journal* does not indicate how this affair ended, but a letter written by Messrs. DuBois and Antonides to the Classis of Amsterdam under date July 8, 1709, which reviews the whole case at length, states that their refusal satisfied the Assembly. Mr. Freeman, who was suspected of having examined and ordained Van Vlecq on his own initiative, denied this charge definitely in a letter to the Classis, dated July 2, 1709; "That I wished to make the reader Van Vlecq a minister, against the advise of my colleagues, has been wrongly reported to Classis." Freeman also reported that, after being refused ordination in New York, Van Vlecq went to Pennsylvania, where he applied to the Scotch Classis (Presbytery) of Philadelphia, "and after he had been first examined by three Scotch ministers, he was qualified for two small villages and was accepted as a member of the Classis (Presbytery); and, as I hear gives reasonable satisfaction." (*Eccl. Records of N. Y.*, III, 1956).

When Van Vlecq appeared in Pennsylvania, he brought with him a small parchment-covered booklet, still preserved in the Dutch Reformed

archives in New Brunswick, N. J., in which he entered the record of his pastoral activities in Pennsylvania from 1710 to 1713. It is the oldest Reformed Church record in Pennsylvania, published by the writer in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, I, 111-134. The book had originally belonged to some learned divine, who wrote on pp. 27-57 an extended Latin analysis of the first sixteen chapters of Matthew, followed by the opening chapters of Mark.

When the book came into the hands of Van Vlecq, he used pages 5-15 to enter upon them what he called a "Thorough instruction of placing the Hebrew vowel points, being the most difficult part of that language." This very limited study of Hebrew was interrupted before he had made much progress in it. On pages 58-76, Van Vlecq wrote a lengthy theological essay, in the Dutch language, on "The Household of the Covenant." This was, most likely, the extent of his study in divinity. The rest of the book is filled with entries showing his pastoral activities in Pennsylvania.

After the departure of Van Vlecq from Pennsylvania in 1713, the book remained in the hands of one of his elders, Christopher Van Sandt. He, with others, continued the record from 1719 to 1738. The last baptisms in the book are those of Rev. Peter Henry Dorsius, 1737-38.

The historical entries, beginning on page 13, are for us the most interesting and important. They read in part as follows, translated into English:

"In the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1710, on May 20th, the church (congregation) at Bensalem and Sammenij (Neshaminy) was established (organized).

"On May 20th, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1710, Mr. Paulus Van Vlecq was installed pastor, or shepherd and teacher, in the church of Jesus Christ at Shammninie, Benselem, Jermentow (Germantown), and surrounding villages.

"The Consistory, elders as well as Deacons, at Sammenij and Bensalem was installed by Do. Van Vlecq on May 21, 1710.

"Hendrick van Dyck, senior elder,
Leendert van der Grift, junior elder,
Stoffel van Sandt, senior deacon,
Nicolaus van der Grift, junior deacon."

It is not stated who confirmed Van Vlecq as pastor. Perhaps no more was involved than his election by the officers of the church and his acceptance of their call. There was but one congregation, which included three settlements, namely, Neshaminy, Bensalem, and Germantown, the last at that time six miles from Philadelphia.

But Van Vlecq did not limit his activity to Neshaminy. On June 4, 1710, as the record states, a church (congregation) was established at Wytmes (Whitemarsh). On the same day the consistory was installed:

Hans Hendricks Meels, senior elder,
Evert ten Heuven, junior elder,
Isack Dilbeck, senior deacon,
William de Wees, junior deacon.

At the same time, fifteen persons, including the four members of the consistory, were received as members of the church at Whitemarsh, a number which was increased to twenty-one during the course of 1710 and 1711. The Whitemarsh Church met, most likely, at the same place as fifteen years later, namely, at the house of William de Wees, which stood near the crossing of the Philadelphia and Reading Turnpike and Wissahickon Creek.

The next important event in the life of Van Vlecq is recorded in the minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia. On September 21, 1710, a committee of the Presbytery, consisting of Messrs. Wilson, Andrews, and Hampton was appointed to "meet at two o'clock to inquire into Mr. Morgan's and Mr. Van Vlecq's affair and prepare it for Presbytery."

When, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Presbytery met, "the committee reported Mr. Van Vlecq's case and, "after serious debating thereon, put it to a vote to admit him a member of Presbytery or not, and it was carried in the affirmative." With Domine Van Vlecq, his elder, Leonard Van der Grift, was admitted to a seat and vote in the Presbytery. There is nothing in the minutes to suggest that he was ordained at that time. On the other hand, the Presbytery would hardly have admitted him as a member without ordination. Hence the question who ordained him remains still unsolved.

By this action of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, the Dutch Domine, with his Dutch Reformed congregation, became a Presbyterian minister, who for the next two years carried on his work under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church.

That Van Vlecq was an energetic pastor and indefatigable worker is plainly evident from his own record. Shortly after he had organized the church at Neshaminy, we find him, on May 28 and 29, 1710, at Whitemarsh and Skippack, where he baptized sixteen children of nine families. The next Sunday, June 4, 1710, Van Vlecq organized a church at Whitemarsh, as we have already seen, with the election of four officers and the reception of eleven members, and baptized on the same day a child at Neshaminy. Two days later he was at Hopewell, N. J., where he bap-

tized seven children. In the following month, on July 7, 1710, he went to Staten Island, where he baptized two children. On his way home he stopped at Six Mile Run, where two children were baptized. On July 30th he was at home again. In August, 1710, he baptized a child at Appqumenic, now Appoquiminik, a creek in New Castle County, Delaware. In the following month he performed a baptism at the Schuylkill. In November he was again, after two previous visits, at Six Mile Run, N. J., where on November 15 he organized a church, with nineteen members, by the installation of two elders and two deacons. It is now the Dutch Reformed Church at Franklin Park, N. J. We are not surprized that, after all these journeys, made no doubt on horse-back, we find this entry:" For shoeing of the horse, two shillings, and the leather for a new bridle, one dollar."

In the year 1711 Van Vlecq reduced the extent of his circuit considerably, visiting quarterly, from Neshaminy as his centre, his regular congregations: Whitemarsh and Skippack, and Six Mile Run, in New Jersey. The reason may be found in the fact that on September 11, 1711, he was married by the Rev. Jedidiah Andrews, the Presbyterian minister in Philadelphia, to Janetje Van Dyck, daughter of his elder, Henry Van Dyck.

For the year 1712 his record contains only baptisms at Neshaminy and Whitemarsh, with one new preaching station, Maidenhead, in New Jersey. His last baptism at Neshaminy took place on Dec. 9, 1712. There is but one later entry, a marriage at Raretan, N. J., on April 24, 1713. After that he left Bucks County. During his ministry he had organized three congregations, supplied ten preaching points, married thirteen couples, received into church membership 88 persons, and baptized 94 children.

The cause of Van Vlecq's leaving Pennsylvania was his bad personal conduct. On September 18, 1712, his elders brought complaints against him before the Philadelphia Presbytery, accusing him of bigamy. An investigation was begun at once, but "Presbytery not finding the evidence clear and positive enough to prove the crime against him and yet Mr. Van Vlecq's vindication not sufficient to take off the scandal, do therefore, until Mr. Van Vlecq bring satisfying proof of his first wife's death, for the honor of the Gospel advise that he do not officiate as minister of the gospel, to which advice he does willingly agree."

Mr. Van Vlecq tried his best to vindicate himself, but a letter from his mother in Holland, written within a few days of his own testimony, showed that at that time his first wife was still alive. Presbytery then came to the conclusion that in their judgment he was guilty.

From this statement it is clear that Van Vlecq was born in Holland,

that he had married there, and that his mother and first wife were still living there in 1712. The affair was concluded as far as Presbytery was concerned when at its meeting on September 21, 1715, Mr. Andrews and Mr. McNish reported concerning Van Vlecq, "that he is run out of the country, and that they, having writ to Holland, according to their appointment, had not yet received an answer."

Looking, however, at the work of Van Vlecq as a whole, we should not conclude that it was a complete failure. On April 22, 1719, Christopher Van Sandt records that seventeen members at Neshaminy Creek were received by the Rev. Malachi Jones "on profession of faith." These were the same members who in 1710 formed the Dutch Reformed congregation at Neshaminy. Rev. Malachi Jones was a Presbyterian minister, and the congregation he formed in 1719 is the Presbyterian Church at Bensalem, Pennsylvania.

But there was another offspring of Van Vlecq's Neshaminy Church. For some reason, probably because they felt themselves crowded out by Scotch and Irish settlers, the Dutch members reorganized a Dutch Reformed Church at Neshaminy in 1730. On May 30, 1730, the Rev. Cornelius Sandford, of Staten Island, installed Christopher Van Sandt and Gerrit Croesen as elders; Benjamin Corsen and Abraham Van der Grift as deacons. At the same time a letter was written to the Rev. John Wilhelmius, at Rotterdam, asking him to secure a minister for them. After a long delay of seven years the Rev. Peter Henry Dorsius was sent as their pastor, who landed at Philadelphia on September 20, 1737. From that day to this the line of ministers has been unbroken. It is now the Dutch Reformed Church at Churchville, Bucks County.

Besides these two, there are other churches which continued the work of Van Vlecq. In November, 1725, Mr. John Philip Boehm organized the Skippack Reformed Church, with 37 members, of whom at least two, probably more, belonged to Van Vlecq's church. The two were Gerhart ten Heuven and Gabriel Schuler.

On December 23, 1725, Mr. Boehm organized the Whitemarsh Reformed Church with 24 members, of whom at least three belonged to the earlier organization of 1710. They were: William de Wees, Isaac Dilbeck, and John Rebenstock. To these four churches must be added the church at Six Mile Run, now the Dutch Reformed Church at Franklin Park, New Jersey.

In view of these facts we must conclude that Paulus Van Vlecq ended his career under a heavy cloud, but his work was continued by five churches which still exist. This will insure Paulus Van Vlecq a place in history, although his character was not unblemished.

SAMUEL GULDIN

1664-1745

The year 1710 is of special significance and importance for the history of the Reformed Church in the United States. In that year the first German colony was settled in the State of New York, accompanied by the Rev. John Frederick Haeger, the first German Reformed minister in that state. In the same year the first Reformed colony founded New Berne, in North Carolina, under the leadership of the Reformed Baron von Graffenried. Through the activity of the same leader the first German Reformed colony of twelve miners was engaged to go to Virginia. It arrived there in 1714, accompanied by the Rev. John Henry Haeger, the first German Reformed minister in Virginia. And in the year 1710 the first colony of Swiss Mennonites settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, accompanied by the Rev. Samuel Guldin, the first German Reformed minister in Pennsylvania. Thus the events of the year 1710 form the opening chapter in the history of the Reformed Church in the United States.

However, the life of Samuel Guldin was lived under such obscure circumstances that he was entirely unknown to the earlier historians of the Reformed Church. It was not till 1892 that Professor Joseph H. Dubbs rescued him from oblivion by an article which he published in the *Reformed Quarterly Review*, entitled, "Samuel Guldin, Pietist and Pioneer."¹ The article gave for the first time the main facts of his life, although Dr. Dubbs was unable to fix the time Guldin had come to Pennsylvania.

When, in the summer of 1897, the writer went for the first time to Holland, Germany, and Switzerland in search of documents that might throw light on the history of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, he found in the city library of Berne, Switzerland, numerous records that gave information about this early pioneer. The most important of these was a letter, or diary, which Guldin wrote on December 1, 1710, from Rocksburg, Pennsylvania, to his friends in Switzerland about his journey to America. Most of the documents then found were made use of by Dr. James I. Good, in his *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725-1792*, 68-88.

Samuel Guldin was born in the city of Berne, Switzerland, in the year 1664, being baptized there April 8, 1664. His father was John Joachim

¹ *Reformed Quarterly Review*, XXXIX (1892), 309-325.

Güldi (to use the Swiss form of his name) and his mother Anna Maria, née Koch. They had four children, of whom Samuel was the third. His grandfather, also John Joachim Güldi, had come from St. Gall, gaining his citizenship at Berne by the payment of one hundred crowns, on November 23, 1633.

In 1679 Samuel Guldin entered the Latin School at Berne, according to the matriculation book of the school, which is still in existence. Then we lose sight of him for the next ten years. In 1689, as he himself tells us in his *Apology*, published in 1718, he and three of his friends, Jacob Dachs, Samuel Schumacher, and Christopher Lutz, intended to go to Geneva to continue their studies there. Before they started, they concluded to make the trip a "spiritual journey," in which they would avoid all disputations and wranglings, such as students are apt to engage in. But, as they were unable to carry out their intentions, they separated in Geneva. There, however, Lutz went through a severe illness, which brought about a complete change in his spiritual life. When his friends visited him, they recognized that a profound change had come over him, and they were themselves deeply moved. They concluded to reunite again. From Geneva they went to Lausanne, where they engaged in the reading of the Bible and in common private worship. Thus unknowingly they introduced among themselves one of the features of pietism; private meetings for devotional purposes, called conventicles, of which they were accused later on.

In 1690, it seems, Schumacher, Dachs, and Guldin traveled to Holland for further study, Lutz being left behind because of sickness. Whether they attended one of the Dutch universities is not known. On this trip Schumacher went through a period of intense inward struggles, being haunted by the thought that he had committed the Sin against the Holy Ghost; that is, he felt that he had consciously resisted the workings of God's Spirit within him. Guldin also passed through a similar trying experience. For three months he suffered from an eye disease, which threatened him with blindness, so that even after he had entered upon his pastoral work he was hindered in the performance of his duties.

On his return to Switzerland, in the fall of 1692, Guldin was called to the pastorate of Stettlen, a village near Berne. There his severe inner struggles, as well as his eye trouble, hampered his work to such an extent that he thought of giving up his ministry altogether. Finally, he relates, on August 4, 1693, when he was about to deliver what he believed to be his last sermon, "the light of faith rose and was born within me, after I had been in the ministry for nine months." It was the same light of faith which Paul had enjoyed when through experience he gained the conviction that the power of faith in Jesus Christ as his Savior had delivered

him from the power of sin and justified him before God. "When I reached that state, Guldin records, "all difficulties and scruples regarding my ministry and my own salvation passed away and I was able to preach with new power, so that my whole congregation became aware of the change that had taken place in my soul."

Thus Guldin traced the beginning of pietism, of which he was afterwards accused, not to the reading of pietistic books, nor to his contact with pietistic leaders, but to a personal experience in his own soul. After his conversion his ministry became eminently successful. His sermons were listened to by immense crowds and his influence was felt beyond his parish. During his stay at Stettlen, probably in the year 1692, Guldin married M. Magdalena Malacrida, daughter of Peter Malacrida, pastor at Wyl, and of his wife Esther, née Fischer. They had four children (1) Samuel, bapt. Nov. 10, 1693; (2) Maria Catharina, bapt. Jan. 8, 1696; (3) Christopher, bapt. July 17, 1697; (4) Emmanuel Frederick, bapt. March 13, 1699. His wife must have died early, for when Guldin reached Pennsylvania he refers to his wife as Susanna.

When the fame of Guldin as a powerful preacher spread, he was called to Berne, in 1696, to become assistant pastor in the Minster at Berne, the largest and most famous church in the canton. The friends of pietism rejoiced greatly over his advancement. One of them, Christopher Lutz, wrote on December 21, 1696, playing on the name Guldin: "Golden News! Today the golden brother Guldi was elected by the Council through a majority of votes, to be the 'Diakon' [assistant pastor] at this place. May God be praised, who doeth wonders! May He anoint him, whom He has ordained! How will this sound in the ears of the opponents? The 'arch sectarian' is now a city pastor and a member of the Ministerium. Thus the stone which the builders had rejected has become the precious corner-stone. Announce it to the Brethren, that they may praise God and help to fight for the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ." Unfortunately this letter fell into the hands of his enemies and was later used against him.

For a number of years Guldin was very successful in his pastorate at Berne. His sermons, aimed at personal conversion and attended by large crowds, created a great stir in the city. As pastor he was especially interested in the instruction of the young. But his phenomenal success also stirred up the orthodox ministers of Berne to take action against him and pietism. They exerted such a strong pressure upon the government that a religious commission was appointed to proceed against the pietists. As a result, the pietists were cited to appear before the commission. They included the following ministers: Samuel Koenig, Samuel Guldin, Christopher Lutz, John Mueller, Samuel Schumacher, Jacob Dachs, and the

theological student Burkhard Fellenberg. A public trial of their orthodoxy took place in December, 1698. After prolonged deliberations, and on the flimsiest of evidence, the leaders of pietism, including Guldin, were found guilty, and were removed from their pastorates by the Council, in June 1699.

The judgment of Council on Mr. Guldin, of Berne, and Mr. Lutz, of Stettlen, was as follows: "These two gentlemen, because of the great fault committed by them, are removed from their positions, and, under pain of further punishment, are forbidden to teach or preach publicly or privately, and also to hold conventicles, so long and until they declare, that they are ready to give up their pietism and are willing to submit themselves to the Helvetic Confession and to all other ordinances, which our gracious Lords deem wise to promulgate, in order that our Lords may feel secure because of them, in which case they may provide them with other, but no better, parishes, far removed from the city."

At the same time the Council ordered that a new oath, called the "Association Oath," be subscribed by all voting citizens, in which they pledged allegiance to the "Helvetic Confession" and promised to maintain "the uniformity of faith, doctrine, and divine service," as instituted by the city of Berne.

Condemned by the Council, Guldin retired to private life at Muri, a little town a few miles northeast of Berne. There he lived very quietly, attended the church services regularly, but abstained from communion. The local pastor at once denounced him to the government. This was enough cause for the Council to cite him before them. Now they insisted that he subscribe the "Association Oath." Overwhelmed by the appeals of his family and broken by continued persecutions, he finally yielded and subscribed the oath that was demanded of him.

Guldin was then appointed pastor of the parish of Boltigen, about twenty miles south of Berne, in the Simmern Valley. He entered upon his ministry there in the year 1701. But, although he preached with great zeal, he was not happy. The fact that he had taken the oath troubled him in his conscience. When he finally asked Council to release him from his obligations, their patience was exhausted. He was summarily removed from his position, deposed from the ministry, and expelled from the country.

For some time after that, Guldin stayed on the estate of one of his friends, Ludwig von Muralt, at Rufenacht. Then he left for northern Germany, where he had faithful friends, who received him gladly. But the lack of religious liberty, which prevailed there also, caused him to think of seeking a better place of refuge elsewhere. Finally, in 1710, an event took place that decided him to go to Pennsylvania.

From 1700 to 1710 several Swiss adventurers, notably Francis Louis Michel and Christopher von Graffenried, had been traveling in North Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, and, when they returned to Switzerland, they had circulated such glowing reports of their adventures, and the possibility of sending colonies of settlers to America, that a colonization society, called Ritter & Company, was organized in Berne, which appealed to the Bernese government for permission to send Swiss emigrants to America. The Bernese government, which had been ruthless in driving out the pietists, thought this was a good opportunity of getting rid of other undesirable citizens, namely the Anabaptists, or as we call them now the Mennonites. In the spring of 1710 an attempt was made to send fifty-six Anabaptists, who had been in prison for several years because of their religious views, to England. But the attempt ended in failure, for when the emigrants reached the border of Holland, they were set free by the Dutch authorities. However, later in the year, ten other Mennonite families determined, of their own free will, to do what the government had tried to compel them to do by force, namely to emigrate to Pennsylvania. In June, 1710, we find these Mennonites in London, whence they wrote a letter to Berne relating their experiences. It was in company with these Bernese Mennonites that Guldin came to Pennsylvania in 1710.

The proof for this statement is found in the diary of Thomas Chalkley, a Quaker preacher, who was on the same ship bound for America and who, by giving the name of the ship and the date of its departure, as well as other details, enables us to identify it with the ship on which Guldin traveled. He writes:

"After the yearly meeting was over, I took passage in the *Mary Hope*, John Annis, Master, bound for Philadelphia; and on the 29th of the fourth month [June], 1710, at Gravesend, after having taken a solemn leave of our Relations, and several of my dear Friends, we set sail and overtook the Russian fleet, at Harwich, and joined them and sailed with them as far as Shetland, which is north of the isles of Orkney. We were there with the fleet about two weeks and then left them, and sailed to the westward for America. In this time we had rough seas, which made divers of us seasick. After we left Shetland we were seven weeks and four days at Sea before we saw the Land. In this time we had divers sweet and solemn meetings, viz., on first and fifth days, wherein we worshipped and praised the great Jehovah, and many things were opened in the spirit of Love and Truth, to our Comfort and Edification. We had one meeting with the Germans or Palatines on the ship's deck and one that understood both languages interpreted for me. The people were tender and wrought upon, behaved sober and were well satisfied. I can truly say,

I was well satisfied also. . . . There were so many souls on Board of her, being ninety-four in number." He also mentions that they reached Philadelphia in the seventh month [September], 1710.² The agreement with Guldin's letter is perfect. He also traveled on the ship "Maria Hope." The Mennonites were at Gravesend on June 24, 1710, and expected to leave Saturday or Sunday following. They were actually at Gravesend on Friday, June 29, 1710. This is old style; according to Guldin it was July 8th, new style. Both writers report the arrival of the ship at Philadelphia in September, 1710. Guldin fixes it more definitely as September 24th.

Shortly after his arrival, Guldin settled at Rocksbury, near Philadelphia, where he was given a house to live in for the winter, or as long as he needed it, by his friend and countryman, John Conrad Matthaei, then the leader of the Hermits on the Wissahickon. On December 1, 1710, Guldin wrote a long letter to his friends at Berne, in which he included his diary of the trip across the ocean. It is an interesting document, being the first diary of that kind written by a Reformed minister in Pennsylvania.³

Guldin did not long make use of the hospitality of his friend Matthaei, for on January 16, 1710/11, "Samuel Guldin of Roxbury, Philadelphia County," bought of George Evans and Anne, his wife, of the county of Philadelphia, "a certain messuage or tenement and plantation with a tract of 275 acres of land in Philadelphia County," on the Wissahickon Creek. The consideration was £120 17s. lawful money of Pennsylvania. On this property the family lived till March 1, 1735, when it was sold to Daniel Barndollar, of Roxbury, yeoman, for £300.

On January 1, 1714, Samuel Guldin, of the Canton of Berne in Switzerland, took out a warrant for 800 acres of land in Strasburg Township, Chester County, near his countrymen. He was to pay sixty pounds for this land, six months after the survey, but as he did not comply with the terms of the warrant, it became null and void, and the land was sold later to another settler. Another piece of land was bought by Guldin on June 23, 1720, when he secured 800 acres of land, adjoining Penn's Manor, of James Steel and his wife, for £160. Four hundred acres of this latter tract were sold again to Rudolph Christian of Colebrookdale, on October 9, 1732, for £165. Several other land transactions of Guldin are on record, which establish, first, that he was a fairly well-to-do man,

² *Works of Thomas Chalkley*, Philadelphia, (1749), 72f.

³ It was published in part by Dr. J. I. Good, in his *History of the Reformed Church in the U. S. 1725-1792*, 74-83; and in full by the writer in the *Journal of the Pres. Hist. Soc.* XIV, (1930), 28-41, 64-73.

and, secondly, that he was a shrewd business man, who knew how to buy and sell land advantageously.

In 1718 Guldin published a *Short Apology or Defence of the Unjustly Suspected and Condemned Pietists at Berne, Switzerland*, Philadelphia, 1718.⁴ The imprint is fictitious, as German types were not brought to Pennsylvania till 1738, when Christopher Saur set up the first German printing press, with German types, at Germantown. The book was most likely printed at Berleburg, Germany, where similar pietistic books were printed with a fictitious imprint, such as the *Geistliche Fama*, "Philadelphia, 1731."

The book consists of two parts. The first, called "Relation," is a lengthy account of the numerous charges brought by the Council of Berne against the Pietists. The second part, about as lengthy as the first, covering thirty-eight pages, consists in general of a defense of experimental religion.

The charges against the pietists are grouped under the following heads:

1. The circulation of heterodox, fanatical, and mystical books.

2. Doctrinal errors. Of these the principal ones were: (1) Perfectionism, that is, the belief that a converted Christian sins no more, that his prayers are those of thanksgiving only; prayers for forgiveness are no longer necessary for him; (2) That those who know themselves to be sinners should stay away from the Lord's Supper; (3) That true prophets or preachers have an internal call from God, without which they should not preach.

3. Pre-Millenarianism. The pietists, it was charged, announced the speedy coming of Christ before the millennium. This was held to be contrary to the Helvetic Confession.

4. A new method in preaching. The accused did not follow the logical method in preaching, taught in the schools. They preached occasionally in the Swiss dialect, rather than in High German, which detracted from the dignity of the sermon.

5. Crowding of churches. Wherever the accused preached, they drew large crowds from other churches, which was subversive of proper discipline and occasioned disrespect of the faithful pastors.

6. Regarding tremblings. Among the disorders occasioned was the so-called trembling, similar to the quaking of the Quakers in England.

7. Regarding conventicles. Private prayer-meetings had been held, without permission of the authorities.

⁴ The German title reads: *Kurtze Apologie oder Schutz-Schrift, der unschuldig verdächtig gemachten und verworffenen Pietisten zu Bern in der Schweiz*. Philadelphia, 1718, 68 pp.

In replying to these charges Guldin admitted most of the facts charged against him, but refused to admit that they constituted punishable offenses. It was true that his services were crowded by hearers from other churches. He had remonstrated with the people about it, but he could not drive them out of the church with a club. It was also true that some old women might have trembled, but was he responsible for that? Trembling was reported in the New Testament, when evil spirits were driven out. It was likewise true that he had read (but not distributed) a few mystical books, but why should the reading of such books be forbidden? Moreover, it was strange that the magistrates inveighed against prayer-meetings, but allowed meetings for drinking, dancing, and gambling to go on unnoticed and unrebuked.

As to his supposed false doctrines, he claimed that perfectionism as well as pre-millenarianism was scriptural, if Scripture be "properly understood." He had not preached in the Swiss dialect, but occasionally he had used a dialectical expression to make himself more clearly understood. Nor had he taught that Christians need not pray. As for the rule that sinners should stay away from the Lord's Supper, that was clearly taught in the Heidelberg Catechism. As to his pietism, it was not derived from pietistic books or friends, but from a personal experience in his soul, which he relates at some length.

In view of these flimsy charges Guldin concluded that, if the churches of Berne had needed a reformation from Catholicism in the sixteenth century, they needed now a reformation from dead orthodoxy and formalism.

As Guldin had answered in this book the charges brought against pietism in a general and summary fashion, he composed a second book, entitled: *Short Theses and Countertheses in Explanation and Defense of Divine Truth, containing I. The False Theses, which have been drawn up against the so-called Pietism at Bern, in Switzerland, . . . II. The Counter Theses, by which the Divine Truth is Explained and Rescued,*⁵ . . . Philadelphia, 1718. The author states that it was composed in exile, and finished October 10, 1718. It was published with the same fictitious imprint as his former tract. It consisted of twenty theses, which set forth the position of his opponents, to which he gave detailed replies in his counter-theses. They are too elaborate to follow in detail, but his summary may be quoted:

1. The theses have all been weighed in the scales of the divine judgment and have been found either erroneous or deficient.

2. Those who throw suspicion on others and persecute them for

⁵ The German title (abbreviated) reads: *Kurtze Lehr und Gegensätze in Erläuterung und Rettung der göttlichen Wahrheit*, Philadelphia, 1718.

their beliefs have generally been found, since ancient times, to have been themselves guilty of the greatest errors.

3. Those who are condemned and persecuted are often found to possess the truth and are made to suffer for it.

4. The orthodox are generally themselves heterodox and in error.

5. Especially the author of the theses, who wants to teach others and even prescribe to them what they are to believe, who has been regarded as a shining example of orthodoxy, now appears before God to be in error and blind.

6. Those who approved the theses and subscribed to them, at the demand of the government, were either themselves in error and blind, or, what is worse, subscribed for fear of the cross they would otherwise have to bear.

7. The whole proceedings against the pietists show under what kind of ministers and governors the church lives at present, and whether it walks in the light of the Gospel or is held in bondage by error and darkness.

This same attitude towards the organized Church Guldin brought to America. Instead of rallying the scattered German settlers, who were eager to have the Word of God preached to them, he lived in retirement in Roxbury, and preached but rarely in Germantown.

Mr. Boehm reports that "the old Guldi, who was dismissed in Bern, Switzerland, on account of his pietism and had come to America," was preaching often in Germantown.⁶ There is nowhere a reference to his preaching at Oley or elsewhere.

When, in the year 1742, Count Zinzendorf attempted to unite all German churches into a "Congregation of God in the Spirit," and held seven union synods to promote this cause, Guldin attended the first synod, held on January 1, 1742; but he found much to criticize. Hence he published a booklet against the proposed union, entitled: *Non-partisan Witness about the New Union of all Religious Parties in Pennsylvania*. It was a small booklet of 120 pages, which appeared in two editions, one in 1743, and a second, with a slightly altered title and an appendix, in 1744. The writer owns a copy of the second edition, thus far unnoticed by bibliographers.

The book contains four sections:

1. Of the true and false notion.
2. Of the balm in Gilead for the wounds and defects of all sects and parties in Pennsylvania.
3. Of the false prophets.
4. Of the true teachers and servants of Christ.

⁶ See *Life of Boehm*, 421.

Guldin starts out with the saying of Christ: "I am the door of the sheep." True union begins if we are united with Christ. If people join this or that party, where does Christ come in? The Separatists are nearest the true union, because they aim only to be one with Christ. That does away with all parties. Indeed, external union is unnecessary. The true (spiritual) Church is already one (I, § 26). If Christ wants an external union, he will bring it about. (I, § 29). For men to work for external union is to interfere in Christ's work. The real work of Christ's grace and of true religion is to bring about true repentance and conversion of soul (I, § 31); without that all external union is useless. The true union of the churches is not the work of men, but of Christ and of the Holy Spirit (II, § 7). The new union, now attempted, is merely the work of men; one feels it in one's heart when one reads their "Relations" or attends their meetings. True union does not take place through speech, articles, or synods, but through love, which is poured out into our hearts through the Holy Spirit.

He summarizes the discussion in an epilogue (pp. 105-112). The true union of all congregations is desirable, but unattainable, for we cannot ourselves bring it about. The reasons are these: The author of true union is not man but Christ, the head of the Church. Where there are many men who undertake a union, there are many heads and many opinions. Opinions bring about not union, but only contradiction, strife, and division. Men seek union in the head only, in reason, in unity of opinions, in articles, theses, synods, and confessions. This brings about constraint and compulsion, while true union is in the heart. It is voluntary, without prescription and compulsion, brought about by the Spirit. The largest parties (denominations) consist mostly of unconverted men, who lack true faith and think that they need no conversion. They say that they are all Christians, are baptized, and go to the Lord's Supper. Hence, the largest part, being unconverted and unbelievers, are already excluded by Christ. They have no unity of faith in Christ and his members until they are converted. None can help them but Christ alone by his Spirit and his Word.

This frank statement is very revealing as to his attitude towards all organized churches.

Guldin died on December 31, 1745. Saur's newspaper of January 16, 1746, has the following death notice:

"Samuel Guldin, well-known for many years, died in Philadelphia on the day before the New Year, in the 81st year of his age."

On January 27, 1746, Susanna Guldin, his wife, renounced her right to administer the estate. She asked that her three children be appointed as administrators. They were: her daughter Anna Catharine, wife of

Marcus Kuhl, "Dutch baker in Philadelphia," and her two sons, Samuel and Emmanuel. The Court added two other men, as executors. Guldin had left a will, but it was unsigned, undated, and without witnesses, and could not be probated. But it gives us an approximate estimate of the size of his estate (the inventory is unfortunately missing). It was worth about 1100 pounds, Pennsylvania currency. Of this sum 100 pounds were to be given outright to his grandson, Samuel, in cash. The rest was to be divided into four equal parts. One part, worth about 250 pounds, was to go to his eldest son Samuel, of Oley,⁷ a farmer; he was to receive a farm "near the furnace," of about 400 acres, at 60 pounds an acre. To him were to go also his father's library and manuscripts, with two trunks; the books were not to be sold. To his daughter Catharine he left £250 in bonds and bills. Lastly, his youngest son, Emmanuel, who had displeased his father with his disorderly life, was to be put on probation for seven years. If after that time he had changed his life, £250 were to be given to him. The last part was to be left to the pious and poor. His wife was to be included in this last category, "if she needed anything and was willing to accept it." He also left various sums to friends: to the "Sabathers in Conestoga, notwithstanding I am not in their opinion," £20; to John Hildebrand of Conestoga £5; and to his friend Conrad Matthaei, "upon the Ridge," £10. It is a queer document, which the executors were not bound to respect.

Guldin was no doubt a saint, but the treatment he had suffered from the organized Church had queered his outlook on life.

JOHN FREDERICK HAEGER

1684-1720

The year 1709 witnessed the first of the larger migrations which swept over the western part of Germany in modern times. Within the space of a few months upwards of 15,000 people left their country to seek new homes across the sea. The glad news had reached them that the vast provinces of North America offered a place of refuge for all the oppressed and harassed people of other lands. Hence they set out to reach the "Promised Land."

⁷ Samuel Guldin, Jr., bought 212 acres of land at Oley, on July 10, 1737, from John Kerson, of Oley, miller, and Rose, his wife. There is no evidence that Samuel Guldin, Sr., ever owned land at Oley, or preached there. The Reformed congregation at Oley was founded by Mr. Boehm, who held the first communion service there on May 4, 1736. (*Life of Boehm*, 288.)

The first group of Palatines, as they were popularly called (although there were in it many from other parts of Germany), arrived in London on May 6, 1709. From that date to the end of July, 1709, more than 11,000 of these people had reached England. When the English government woke up to the gravity of the situation (for to feed such a multitude was no small undertaking), strenuous efforts were made to prevent more from coming over, but in spite of all efforts more than 15,000 had come over by the end of the year. One contemporaneous document mentions the number of 15,313 persons.

The causes that induced these people to leave their homes were primarily economic, and not religious, as has been held by many recent writers. In fact contemporary records do not mention the religious cause at all. Perhaps the most potent cause was the terrible devastation to which the Palatinate and neighboring states had been subjected by the armies of the French king, Louis XIV. This began in 1674 and continued to 1708. In a pamphlet, published in London in 1709, entitled, *The Palatines Catechism*, we read: "About two years since, the Mareshal De Villars and his merciless army reduced it [the Palatinate] to a perfect wilderness, not leaving the poor Palatines so much as a house to hide their heads in, nor hardly clothes to cover their nakedness."

Another potent cause of this great exodus was the exceedingly cold winter of 1708-1709, when birds on the wing are said to have dropped down dead, when fruit trees were killed, and vines were destroyed. That this severe winter, which spread over France and England as well, had something to do with this exodus of 1709 is evident from the fact that nearly half of the emigrants were husbandmen and vine-dressers.

Still another influence that was at work to make these people dissatisfied with their lot was excessive taxation. A letter from the Palatinate, written in 1681, states, that "because we are now suffering from high taxes," thousands would gladly leave their fatherland, if they had the means to do so.

It is also significant that the Electoral Council advised the Elector John William, of the Palatinate, that in order to prevent more people from leaving he should order two or three thousand hundred-weight of flour to be distributed among his subjects.

But the match which set off the powder barrel was the distribution of numberless pamphlets through land agents, which held before their readers glowing pictures of the rich fields of the New World, waiting to be tilled, and held out the promise that, if they would but come to England, the English Queen would send them to the British colonies in America, and give every person settling there one hundred acres of land, without taxes for ten years. When, in 1710, a commission was appointed

by Parliament to investigate the coming of the Palatines to England and it inquired "upon what encouragement the Palatines came to England," it was informed, "by several of their number" who were examined, that "there were books and papers distributed in the Palatinate, with the Queen's picture before the books and the title-pages in letters of gold (which from thence were called the "Golden Books") to encourage them to come to England, in order to be sent to Carolina or other of her Majesty's plantations."

Much more difficult, however, than the determination of the causes of their coming was the question what to do with them now that they had actually come. The answer to this question gave the ministers of the good Queen Anne many sleepless night. The new-comers could not stay in England, for great dissatisfaction and even riots had broken out in London. Pamphlets and satires appeared in large numbers, which discussed the subject from every angle. Some lampooned the British ministers in severe terms for their supposed invitation of these unwelcome strangers to England. Among the numerous pamphlets in the British Museum dealing with the situation is one entitled *Canary Birds naturalized in Utopia*, London, 1709. It is a biting satire, which begins as follows:

"In our happy days of yore,
When foreign Birds from German shore
Came flocking to Utopia's Coast
And o'er the country, ruled the Roost,
Of our good people, did two thirds
So much admire Canary Birds,
For outward show and finer feathers
Far more regarded than all others.
We bought 'em dear, we fed 'em well
Till they began for to rebel,
Unsatisfied they did resourt,
For greater Liberty to Court
And equal privilege would claim
Or with the natives much the same;
As if no birthright had been given
For our own birds from unkind heaven."

Thus the Pamphleteer keeps on ranting for 24 pages against the unwelcome canary birds. Finally he concludes:

"We've Poor enough among ourselves,
Need no encroaching foreign Elves."

The result was that the Naturalization Law, passed in 1708 for Kocherthal and his colony, had to be repealed.

Nor were the hopes of the Palatines to be sent to America fulfilled.

Many were sadly disappointed. Only a small part of those who had come to England were really sent to America. About 2,800 Catholics were returned to Germany. A little more than 3,000 were sent to Ireland, but liked it there so badly that many found their way back to England. Eighteen hundred and eighty-four (including 120 Swiss) went to North Carolina and 3,000 were dispatched to New York State. This last colony is the one that claims our chief interest.

As early as May 20, 1809, a proposal was made to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the famous Church of England Missionary Society, briefly known as S. P. G.) relating to the "poor persecuted Palatines, lately arrived from Germany, that the society should be moved to send over a German minister with said Palatines." Consideration of the proposal was postponed until the Government had decided how to dispose of them. In December, 1709, when it had been determined to send about 3,000 of them to New York, the question was again taken up and a committee of two appointed to "enquire after such a person."

On December 16, 1709, the committee reported that its attention had been directed to one, Frederick Haeger, who had offered his services to the Society. He had produced "testimonials of his learning and morals," which were to their entire satisfaction, and it had recommended him to the Bishop of London "to be put into holy orders, if his Lordship thought convenient, to the end that he might be qualified for the above mentioned mission."

The Society then voted, that "said Mr. Haeger be the Society's Missionary to such parts of the Province of New York, where her Majesty shall think fit to settle the poor Palatines, provided he be Episcopally ordained and that said Mr. Haeger do qualify agreeable to the orders of the Society about missionaries." It was also agreed that a committee of the Society hear him read prayers and preach, and that their approbation be final. A passage of Scripture, Matthew 5:11, "The poor have the Gospel preached to them," was assigned as his text, from which to preach a trial sermon. Also, the sum of fifty pounds was voted as his salary, to commence from Michaelmas (Sept. 29), and the usual sum of fifteen pounds was allowed for books, etc.

The ordination of Mr. Haeger by the Bishop of London took place on December 20, 1709. On December 30 the committee reported to the Society that he had read prayers and had preached, which duties he had "performed very well." Hence they had admitted him into the service of the Society.

Among the testimonials Mr. Haeger submitted to the Society were two which are still preserved in the archives of the Society. One was

given him by the University of Herborn and the other by the University of Lingen. Both are in Latin and state among other things that Frederick Haeger came from Siegen, in the county of Nassau. This induced the writer, many years ago, in the summer of 1898, to visit Siegen, in order to discover, if possible, the antecedents of Mr. Haeger. His search was amply rewarded, for the records of his native city contain many references to his family, especially to his distinguished father.

First of all, the baptismal records of the St. Nicolai Reformed Church at Siegen show that "on the 18th Sunday after Trinity, 1684, Mr. Henry Haeger, preceptor of the third class[of the Latin School] and Anna Catharine, his wife, had a son baptized, John Frederick. Sponsor: Mr. John Frederick Prumé, single." Further search of the marriage records at Siegen revealed that on December 3, 1678, "the worthy and well-learned Mr. Henry Haeger, preceptor of the Latin School, son of Henry Haeger of Antzhausen, was married to Anna Catharine, daughter of Jacob Friesenhagen, late mayor of Freudenberg." The couple had twelve children, of whom John Frederick was the third; baptized, as stated, on the 18th Sunday after Trinity, or September 28, 1684. Furthermore, the marriage entry of his father shows that the latter came from Antzhausen, of the parish of Netphen.

As a boy young Frederick Haeger no doubt attended the Latin School of his native city. After having graduated from this school, he entered the University of Herborn, on July 5, 1703. When he left in 1705 he asked the rector of the university for a certificate of the work done by him. This certificate, dated September 25, 1705, testifies to the fact that Haeger had been an ardent student of the Cartesian philosophy, under the tuition of Prof. Pungeler, and that at a public disputation he had defended a thesis on the immortality of the soul.

From Herborn Haeger went to the (now extinct) University of Lingen, near the border of Holland, in the territory of the Count of Bentheim. There he stayed till the fall of 1707. The certificate which he received at his departure, on November 14, 1707, testifies that he had studied theology and the sciences at this university. He then returned to Siegen to assist his father. On June 24, 1708, his father is reported as sick. His son, John Frederick, came to visit him. Hence the father asked the Consistory at Siegen to examine and license him. He was given the text I Tim. 3:15, 16, for his trial sermon. And, as he preached to the satisfaction of his examiners, he was duly licensed to preach the Gospel.

Early in the year 1709 Haeger must have come in touch with the emigrants who were making their way down the Rhine to Holland, to be sent from there to England. What induced him to take this step and to leave his father behind, we do not know. On July 27, 1709, he em-

barked at Rotterdam, and on July 28 he left for England. His name "Johan Fredrik Heger" appears on the sixth embarkation list, which has recently been published by Prof. Walter A. Knittle, in his authoritative book, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, [Philadelphia, 1937], p. 272. Four lists of Palatines, with about 6,000 names, drawn up by the German ministers of London, Messrs. Ruperti and Tribbeko, first seen by the writer in 1897, were printed by Lou D. MacWethy in his *Book of Names especially relating to the early Palatines*, St. Johnsville, N. Y. 1923.

When the Board of Trade in London determined to send a contingent of 3,000 Palatines to the state of New York, it adopted at the same time a proposal of Colonel Robert Hunter, who had been appointed governor of New York, on September 9, 1709. He proposed that, in order to reimburse the English government for the expenses incurred in sending the Palatines to New York, they be required to prepare naval stores, pitch, tar, and hemp, under the direction of the Governor. The consent of Queen Anne to this arrangement was secured in January, 1710.

The Palatines embarked at Portsmouth, in December, 1709, in ten ships, but their departure was delayed, for unknown reasons, till April, 1710. During the interval, many, especially children, died on shipboard. A German report, printed in 1711, states: "The last letters, written from Portsmouth in April, relate that in one ship eighty people died and that there are about one hundred sick, many of whom are expected to die."

The journey to America was long and troublesome. Haeger wrote in his first letter to the Society: "I was hardly a fortnight on shipboard when a violent fever seized me and kept me confined for six weeks, even almost beyond hope of recovery, which has been very expensive to me, having lain long in harbours, especially that of Portsmouth, insomuch that I have not brought a farthing ashore."

In the same letter Haeger also reported that on shipboard he had ministered to Reformed and Lutheran people alike, and that he hoped this would continue also in New York, but that, upon his arrival there, the Lutheran minister, Mr. Kocherthal, had succeeded in separating the Lutherans and ministering to them separately. Haeger had in vain tried to overcome this.

On the 13th of June, 1710, the first ships of the fleet, with Governor Hunter on board, landed in New York. A few days later, the ship carrying Haeger and his people arrived, with two other ships. By August 2 all of the ten ships transporting Palatines had arrived safely, except one, which stranded on the coast of Long Island. The people were saved, but all the goods were lost. The long journey had played terrible havoc among the people. Governor Hunter reported 446 as having died at sea or shortly after their arrival in New York.

Almost immediately after his arrival Haeger began holding divine services in the city hall at New York. On July 25, 1710, he send his first report to the Society. He wrote: "I have already added thirty-four communicants to the Church of God, whom I had sufficiently instructed beforehand in the Church of England Catechism, in the explaining whereof I am still at work." He also complained: "There is a great want of liturgies in the German tongue, in order that each family may be provided with one to answer according to custom." In answer to this complaint the Society voted that "some German prayer- and other books be sent to said Mr. Haeger."

The Palatines left New York in October, 1710, being sent up the Hudson River by the Governor. Before Haeger followed them "unto the woods," he wrote his second report, on October 28, 1710. He reported 600 communicants, 52 received into the church, after instructing them in the catechism; among them 13 Catholics. He had also officiated at four marriages and eight baptisms. He states that in consequence of fever and death the whole number of Palatines had been reduced to about 2,000. He himself had been compelled to live on borrowed money, as the Palatines were unable to pay him for his services and he had not succeeded in getting his salary from England.

When Haeger joined the Palatines up the Hudson River, he found that they had been settled on three tracts of land. One, on the west side of the Hudson, consisting of 6,300 acres, which had been crown lands. To it another tract of 800 acres had been added, which was purchased from a man named Robert Fullerton. On the east side of the river a third tract, containing 600 acres, had been purchased from Robert Livingston, Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the State. On these three tracts the Germans were settled. In the course of the following years seven German villages sprang up along the river. On the east side: Hunterstown, Queensburgh, Annsburgh, and Haysburgh; on the west side: Elizabethtown, Georgetown and Newtown. The total number settled in these villages was 1,874. None of these names has survived to the present day, but Germantown, a village on the east side, marks one of the eastern settlements, whilst Newtown is now represented by West Camp, Elizabethtown by Evesport, and Georgetown by Smith Landing.

This ambitious attempt to have the Germans produce naval stores failed miserably in less than two years. The causes of this failure were mainly these: First, inadequate preparation for such a gigantic undertaking; Second, inadequate and insufficient supervision by proper experts; Third, inadequate financial support from England; Lastly, inconsiderate treatment of the Germans by the Governor, which made them unwilling and rebellious workers.

In September, 1712, the Germans were unexpectedly informed that they had to shift for themselves. We can imagine the consternation of these poor people, who had no means of subsistence. "It occasioned a terrible consternation among them, particularly among the women and children, the most pitiful and dolorous cries and lamentations that have perhaps ever been heard from any persons under the most wretched and miserable circumstances." Thus the Palatines themselves described their feelings on that occasion. The ill-considered undertaking had produced only two hundred barrels of tar and had cost the Governor the tidy sum of 20,000 pounds, which were never repaid to him by the British government.

During the two years that the tar-making experiment of the Governor was maintained, Mr. Haeger had lived under great privations among his people. In his third letter to the Society, dated Annsbury, August 15, 1711, he wrote: "After sending off my last letter, I left immediately for the woods, where I have lived in a little cabin among the Palatines. I maintained my divine services in spite of the fact that thus far I had to conduct them under the open sky." He complained that he was living like a hermit, having not a single soul to converse with. Perhaps to fill up idle hours, he had turned his attention to the Indians. He reported the baptism of the first Indian, whom he had instructed with difficulty through the medium of the Dutch language. He had also made a beginning of learning the Indian language, no doubt the Mohawk, and had composed a small vocabulary, but had not yet had time to arrange the words properly.

About this time the Governor issued a call for volunteers to fight the French. Three hundred Palatines responded, with Mr. Haeger as their chaplain. The Palatines were all eager to enlist, probably because promises of permanent settlements had been held out to them. Haeger writes about it as follows: "I followed the expedition against Canada in quality as a chaplain of the camp and that not without great fatigue, as Col. Nicholson himself has confessed, and has given me testimony everywhere. Yet all had been nothing to us, if the expedition had proved successful, for our Palatines were all joyful in hopes of their liberty and settlement."

When in September, 1712, the ill-fated experiment of Governor Hunter finally collapsed, and the Germans were told to shift for themselves, they found themselves in a terrible plight, without any lands of their own or tools to cultivate them. What was there for them to do?

It was then that some of them remembered a story they had heard, that the Indians of Schoharie had presented to the English Queen some land in that region for their settlement. As the story was later told by

Conrad Weiser, in his autobiography, it was to the effect that "the Indian deputies who were in England as the German people were lying in tents on the Blackmoor, had made a present to the Queen Anne of this Schoharie, that she might settle these people upon it." In this form the story is partly fictitious; for, as Professor Knittle has recently shown, the Indian delegation did not arrive in England till April, 1710, when the Palatines, headed for New York, were already on their ships in the harbor of Portsmouth. But he has also shown that the Indian sachem Hendrick declared at a conference at Albany, on August 22, 1710, that they had been told that the Queen had sent a considerable number of people with the Governor to settle upon land called Skohere. Hence they [the Indians] were willing to surrender it to the Queen." (Knittle, *Palatine Emigration*, 153).

This statement proves conclusively that the Indians had heard by August, 1710, that the lands at Schoharie had been mentioned as a place upon which to settle the Germans who had come with the Governor, (who could be only the Palatines), and that the Indians were willing to surrender the land to the government for that purpose. Hence the Germans had erred only as to the place where the granting of this land to the government had taken place. It was not in London but in Albany. On the main point they were correct; the Indians were willing that they should settle on their land. It was certainly not the intention of the Indians that the Governor should hand the land over to some of his cronies, that they might speculate with it and enrich themselves by it.

It was unquestionably in view of this story that the Germans sent a delegation to their Indian friends at Schoharie. With the help of Indian guides they reached Schoharie and obtained the necessary permission, and, in the fall of 1712, fifty families moved to Schoharie. They were kindly received and supported by the Indians during the following severe winter. A second contingent of about one hundred families followed in the next spring, "traveling a fortnight with sledges through the snow, which covered the ground about three foot deep." Thus they joined their friends in the "Promised Land."

Meanwhile the Palatine missionary had stayed with the main body of the Palatines in the Hudson Valley, his congregation greatly reduced in numbers. For, while on Easter day, 1712, he had 240 communicants, by November, 1712, the number had shrunk to 140. While he had confirmed 45 young people in 1711-12, the number in 1712-13 was seven. A similar decrease is shown in his marriages and baptisms.

On July 8, 1713, Haeger wrote to the Society: "Since they separated themselves, they are dispersed up and down the country, yet nevertheless I endeavor to the utmost of my power to get the circuit from time

to time, and as far as possible I come to visit, instruct, edify, and promote the interest of the Church of Christ by prayers and preaching on all occasions."

In another letter Haeger draws a gloomy picture of the condition of his parishioners: "The misery of these poor Palatines, which I every day behold, has thrown me into such a fit of melancholy, that I much fear a sickness. There has been a great famine among them this winter and does hold on still, in so much that they boil grass and the children eat the leaves of the trees. Such amongst them as have most suffered of hunger are advanced in years and too weak to go out a labouring. I have seen old men and women crie that it should have moved a stone. I am almost ruined with this people. I have given the bread out of my own mouth to many a one of them, not being able to behold their extreme want. . . . The knife is almost put to my throat, whilst I am in a foreign country, without money or friends to advance me any."

During the following years the condition of the Palatines improved somewhat. At first "they dispersed themselves up and down almost the whole government," but in 1714 Haeger "prevailed with a considerable number to purchase a great tract of land in one continent." He had urged the Palatines to take this step, "lest they leave the holy principles of the Church of England by law established, which with so indefatigable zeal and application I have and henceforth to the utmost of my capacity and strength shall promote and firmly settle in their hearts, continually imploring thereunto the benediction of the Most High."

Of the extent of Haeger's parish we get an interesting picture in his parochial report of the year 1715:

	Families	Persons	Communicants
On the East side:			
Hunterstown	41	182	43
Queensburg	32	138	38
Haysburg	28	114	39
Annsburg	28	82	37
On the West Side:			
New Town	16	77	13
Elizabeth Town	7	32	10
George Town	23	97	48
Schohary	154	583	230
Totals	329	1305	458

On October 8, 1715, Haeger addressed a petition to the Governor, asking permission to build a church at Kingsbury, on the east side of the Hudson, where he had made his home. This permission was granted. Hence, on October 24, 1715, he wrote to the Society: "His Excellency has readily granted me a license to build a church in the principal settlement

of the Palatines, towards effecting whereof I have a reasonable prospect of such assistance from the good people here as will enable us to bring it to perfection." In view of this he asked the Society to send him a pulpit cloth, a communion-table cloth, and communion vessels, so as to enable him "to perform the service with becoming decency."

In September, 1716, his prospects of completing the church had faded away. The timber was squared and lying ready for the building lot, but for want of money he was unable to proceed. He was told that after Mr. Barclay, the Episcopal missionary, had finished his church, "about three days journey from where I reside," the English people would be willing to assist him. Meanwhile he built on credit a "little house and kept church in it. It could hold about 200 people, the rest had to stay outside."

He also reported about a visit to Schoharie. He writes: "I stayed at the before-mentioned settlement, called Schoharie, about a month, where I had a large congregation. I preached several times and administered the Holy Communion to 74 communicants the 29th of July, again at another place I had 103 communicants."

In the year 1716 Haeger had a serious accident. Having heard that the Governor was in Albany, he determined to see him personally. As he was riding through the woods at night, "something came against the horse and, the saddle being not well girthed, caused me a great bruise near death." While he was being brought home from Schenectady in a wagon, a party of drunken Indians attacked them, when, but for the expert driver, they would most likely have been killed. Being in a sickly condition and needing somebody to take care of him, Haeger was married, on November 13, 1716, to Anna Maria Rohrbach, by his colleague, the Lutheran pastor, Rev. Joshua Kocherthal. There is no evidence at hand that there were any children in this marriage.¹

The cruelest blow came to Haeger in the year 1717, when under date April 15, 1717, the Society informed him that his salary would not be continued. We can imagine the dismay of the poor missionary, forsaken by his friends, alone in the wilderness, without means of support for himself and his wife. The reason for this sudden dismissal is somewhat obscure, but from the scant notice in the Society's records it may be inferred that the principal cause was a resolution of the Society to the effect that "the design of propagating the Gospel in foreign parts does chiefly and principally relate to the conversion of heathens and infidels." The answer of Haeger seems to refer to this resolution, for he writes in his last letter to the Society: "It would be of little service, if

¹ After his death, his widow married the Indian missionary, the Rev. James Ogilvie.

we would only endeavor to make heathens Christians and leave the Christians to grow heathens.”²

Although abandoned by the Society, Haeger did not give up his work. During the last years of his life he apparently made his home in the Schoharie Valley. There he was known as a Reformed minister. He realized, perhaps, that his fellow countrymen had really no inclination to be members of the Episcopal Church. On November 22, 1720, Conrad Weiser, the Indian interpreter, was married to Anna Eve, by “John Frederick Heger, Reformed clergyman.”

In August, 1721, an appeal was laid before the Society in behalf of Haeger, and as a result fifty pounds were voted to him for his past services. But before the money reached him he had died; according to his successor, on August 17, 1720. On July 20, 1722, “a bill drawn by Mrs. Haeger, widow of Mr. Haeger, late missionary among the Palatines, for fifty pounds, given her husband by minutes of November 1721,” was laid before the Society. The treasurer was ordered to pay it.

Thus ended a life full of difficulties and privations, to which he at last succumbed. But his work was continued by other men. First, by John Jacob Oehl; later, by George Michael Weiss. By that time all efforts to bring these Germans into the Episcopal Church were given up.

There is no reason why Mr. Haeger should be dropped from the roll of Reformed ministers. In the first place, his connection with the Episcopal Church was but a temporary arrangement, by which he secured the financial backing to make his work among the Palatines possible. Secondly, the Episcopal Church was regarded at that time, and she regarded herself, as one of the Reformed Churches. She had sent representatives to the Reformed Synod of Dort, 1618–19. Thirdly, there are a number of other examples of men who secured Episcopal ordination and yet retained their connection with their mother church. A close parallel is the case of Peter Muhlenberg, the son of Henry M. Muhlenberg, who received Episcopal ordination, to make his work among the Lutherans in Virginia possible.³

² The letters of Mr. Haeger (in the archives of the S.P.G. in London) were copied by the writer in 1897. With his consent, and from his copies, they were published by Dr. Corwin in *Eccleristical Records of the State of New York*, Vol. III.

³ See *Hallesche Nachrichten*, new ed. I, 635.

JOHN HENRY HAEGER

1644-1737

In 1870 Bishop Stevens Perry published, in his *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church*, an appeal presented to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in London, by twelve German Protestant families in Virginia, who in April, 1714, had settled near the Rappahannock River, and had brought with them a minister, Henry Haeger,¹ a very sober and honest man," about 75 years of age. They appealed to the Society for an allowance for their minister and for assistance to build a church. This document (as well as some other evidence that had meanwhile come to light) enabled Professor J. H. Dubbs to present Henry Haeger as the first German Reformed minister in the South (*Historic Manual*, p. 398).

When the writer investigated, in 1897, the records of the Society he found the following entry in its *Journal*, under date October 2, 1713:

"Reported from the Committee, that they had taken into consideration the petition of Mr. Hager, father of Mr. Hager, the Society's missionary among the Palatines in the province of New York, to them referred, and that they agreed as their opinion, that the case of said Mr. Hager does not properly lie before the society."

This entry established the fact that in October, 1713, Mr. Haeger, Sr., was in London, and that John Frederick Haeger, missionary in New York State, was his son. Moreover, since the testimonials which Mr. Haeger, Jr., had left with the Society showed that he came from Siegen, Germany, that city was visited by the writer, and from the records preserved in Siegen and neighboring towns the history of the Haeger family was unravelled.

John Henry Haeger was born at Anzhausen, a village near Siegen, in 1644. He was baptized on August 27, 1644, by Rev. Gottfried Leichlein, the Catholic pastor of the parish of Netphen. His parents, Henry Haeger, widower, and Gudy [Judith], widow of John Schram, were married at Anzhausen on January 11, 1638. They had four children, of whom Henry was the third. The baptisms of the children are duly entered in the Catholic parish register at Netphen.² This parish of twenty-seven vil-

¹ Although the name is printed as Hoeger in the body of the appeal, the Index gives it as Haeger, which spelling is supported by the *Journal*, as well as by several other appeals found in Germany.

² These dates supersede those in earlier sketches by the writer. They were secured by the Rev. Albert Heider, Protestant pastor at Netphen, in 1930.

lages (of which Anzhausen was one) belonged at that time to the Catholic part of Nassau, in which from 1633 to 1651 all Protestant worship was suppressed. Hence even Protestant children had to be baptized by the Catholic priest. In 1650 there were 646 Reformed and 176 Catholic communicants in Netphen, of whom 40 Reformed and 8 Catholics lived in Anzhausen. On December 28, 1651, the Reformed people laid a petition before the imperial commission at Siegen, asking that they be permitted to share in the benefits of the peace of Westphalia, and that they be given back their churches and former income, which they had enjoyed before the year 1624. It is not probable that the petition was ever answered. On January 19, 1652, Rev. Caspar Landmann, the Reformed pastor at Netphen, handed in his resignation, because he had heard that half of his salary would be given to the Jesuits at Siegen. From that time all the Reformed ministers were given but half-pay. Many of them left with their school-teachers, to escape further persecutions. The Protestant church records at Netphen begin with the year 1654.

In 1669 "Henry Höger, from Antshausen," matriculated in the Latin School at Hanau.³ On September 25, 1678, he became third teacher in the Latin School at Siegen, and was received as a candidate of theology. A few months later Haeger's name occurs in the old church record at Siegen, under date December 3, 1678: "The worthy and learned Mr. Henry Haeger, preceptor of the Latin School at this place, son of Henry Haeger of Antshausen, was married to Anna Catharine, daughter of Jacob Friesenhagen, late mayor of Freudenberg." This union was blessed with twelve children, of whom John Frederick Haeger, the later missionary in New York State, was the third.

In 1689 Henry Haeger became conrector, or assistant rector, at Siegen. The oldest matriculation book of the Latin School states: "During the summer term of this year, 1689, the conrector, the Rev. Mr. Tilemann, exchanged his position with the pastorate, and having been called to Langsdorf in the Wetterau district, he bade us farewell. He was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Haeger and the latter by John Philip Otterbein, of Nassau-Dillenburg." While conrector at Siegen, Haeger translated into German and published in 1690 at Herborn a thrilling account of the persecutions suffered by the Rev. James Pineton de Chambrun, court preacher of William III of Orange. In consequence of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, De Chambrun had been taken prisoner at Orange, a little town in southern France, dragged by the emissaries of the King from place to place, until he finally succeeded in escaping from Lyons to Switzerland.

³ The spelling of Anzhausen varies. At present it is Anzhausen. The matriculation of Haeger at Hanau is found in *Album Civium Academicorum*, (Hanau, 1895), p. 8.

He then made his way to Holland, where William III, later King of England, received him with great joy. His remarkable experiences De Chambrun embodied in a book, which Count William Maurice, a cousin of William III of Orange, asked his conrector at Siegen to translate for the benefit of his Nassau people, to show them the heroic courage of a devoted minister.

Haeger filled the position of conrector at Siegen till 1703. The record of that year tells us that "on the 21st of January, 1703, the Rev. Mr. Schmid was appointed as conrector in place of the Rev. Mr. Haeger, whom the most noble prince wished to transfer and promote to the pastorate of Oberfischbach." Haeger was installed at Oberfischbach on June 12, 1703. The visiting superintendenet states, under date of October 21, 1705, in the Protocols of Visitation: "Haeger preached rather poorly but better than last year." In 1707 he is said to have preached very well and was much praised by the exacting visitor. "He has thus far practiced medicine very frequently among his members. This he was most positively forbidden, but he has now given up the practice." On June 24, 1708, he is reported as being sick. To secure some assistance he asked the consistory at Siegen to license his son, John Frederick, who had already passed his preliminary examination on February 14, 1708. His wish was granted and the young licentiate came frequently to Oberfischbach to assist his father. In 1710 the Inspector, Rev. John D. Eberhardi, made the following report about his visit to Oberfischbach, which had taken place on August 4, 1710:

"(1) The pastor loci preached on the prescribed text a scriptural, fervent, and heart-stirring sermon. (2) The catechization on the question concerning the Father, Son and Holy Spirit was satisfactory. (3) At the meeting of the 'Presbyterium' [Spiritual Council] all the elders appeared except one, who asked to be excused, because he was charcoal burning. Pastor and school-teacher were unanimously given an honorable testimonial as to the discharge of their duty and their upright conduct. Everything is said to be in good order in the congregation. (4) The upper gallery in the church is damaged, for which the slater is held responsible. There is also a dangerous crack in the hallway leading to the parsonage. The cemetery wall has several breaks and the parsonage is much dilapidated. The church accounts from 1707 to 1709 were audited."

In 1711 the records state that Haeger, although he had gotten rid of his troublesome nervous headache, was suffering very much from hernia. On February 16, 1711, Haeger handed in his resignation. He expressed his regret that his infirmity compelled him to ask for his retirement after he had faithfully served eight years at Oberfischbach and twenty-four years at Siegen. On April 13, 1711, he was granted an honor-

able dismissal. According to certified extracts from the church records, made by the present pastor, Haeger officiated at the last baptism on April 12 and at the last funeral on April 15, 1711. He lived in retirement at Oberfischbach till July 12, 1713, when he moved to his son, then living in the county of Berg, now the Rhineprovince. These extracts from the records at Siegen and Oberfischbach prove conclusively that Haeger could not have come to America in 1710, with Graffenried, and settled at New Berne, N. C., as has been stated repeatedly. We know now that he remained in Germany at least till July, 1713.

Three men were instrumental in bringing the first colony of German Reformed people to Virginia. The first was Francis Ludwig (Lewis) Michel; the second, Baron Christopher von Graffenried; and the third, Alexander Spottswood, then Governor of Virginia.

The first, Francis Ludwig Michel, was a Swiss traveler and adventurer. He was descended from a noble family. His father, David Michel, born 1634, was Lord of Ralligen. He became, in 1673, a member of the Great Council of Berne, and in 1684 perfect of Gottstatt. He died February 7, 1696. He was survived by three children, two sons and a daughter. His younger son, John Louis, born April, 1864, became Lord of Aarau and Commissioner of Revenue at Yverdon. His older son, Francis Lewis, born November 15, 1661, led an adventurous life as explorer and traveler in America. He made three trips to America, between 1701 and 1708. From his lengthy reports,⁴ which are preserved in the city library at Berne, it appears that the purpose of these journeys was twofold: first, to find silver and iron mines; second, to make preparation to settle a Swiss colony in America. He traveled extensively through Virginia and Pennsylvania, with Indian guides and French traders, and claimed to have found specimens of both iron and silver ores. He also wrote home glowing reports of his finds and of the beauties of the country, and stirred up so much excitement and interest that a stock company, named, after its chief mover, Ritter & Co., was organized. In 1705 plans and petitions were laid before the English government, asking permission to establish such a Swiss colony, preferably in Pennsylvania. When Michel returned to Switzerland in 1708, he stopped in Holland, "to confer with the chief of the miners, who was to prepare all tools and supplies necessary for the enterprise, the cost of which was nearly a thousand ecus [rixdollars] in silver. Mr. Penn, proprietor of Pennsylvania, made a contract with us, having thorough knowledge of it all. He favored us very much in this regard, even made Mr. M. director-general of the minerals in the prov-

⁴ They were translated by the writer and published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIV, (1916).

ince.”⁵ When Michael returned to Berne in 1708, he met Christopher von Graffenried, a member of a noble family of Berne, to whom he related his experiences and prospects for the future. As Graffenried was much reduced in his financial resources and eager for adventure, he listened with much interest to the story. He himself relates: “Of late I received a more accurate report of the American countries from a citizen of this city, who had been in America for five or six years. He informed me what a glorious country it is, how cheap, what liberty, what large growth, good business, rich mines and other good things it has. He told me especially what beautiful silver mines he had found.” As Graffenried saw no opportunity to improve his financial status in Switzerland, the opening up of silver mines seemed to him exceedingly attractive. It is, therefore, not surprising that he accepted “the beautiful propositions of the above-named citizen.” As later events showed, these propositions were to the effect that Graffenried should conduct a Swiss colony to the banks of the Potomac river, where Michel claimed to have taken up land. A map drawn by Graffenried is still in existence, which illustrates this colonization scheme along the banks of the Potomac.⁶

In 1709 Graffenried traveled to London in the interests of the Bernese society, to undertake the necessary negotiations with the British government. There he met influential men, who encouraged him in his plans. Suddenly the whole undertaking was given a different direction. The Lord Proprietors of North Carolina believed that Graffenried was the right man to turn the stream of emigrants to North Carolina. They made him the most tempting offers to settle his colony in their province. They gave him the title of Baron of Bernbury, and bestowed upon him the dignity of Knight of the Golden Band, with the medallion. Through these attractive titles and the offer of 15,000 acres of land, at one pound for each one hundred acres, and six shillings as ground rent, they persuaded him to accept their offer, which included also the proposition to settle the colony at the junction of the News and Trent Rivers, and to call it New Berne.

In the same year, 1709, England was flooded with a large number of German emigrants, upward of 15,000, from the Palatinate, Hessa, Zwi-bruecken, Nassau, and Alsace; but, as the first group predominated, they were generally referred to as Palatines. From this strange mixture of people Graffenried was permitted to select 650, especially artisans and farmers, who seemed best suited for his enterprise. To these were added 120 Swiss. They were sent to Carolina in two contingents, and settled in

⁵ See Todd, *Graffenried's Account of New Bern*, 223.

⁶ See *Virginia Magazine of History*, XXIV, facing p. 302.

1710 at New Berne, with the loss of nearly half the colonists in transit. It is impossible to follow in detail the sad story of this settlement, but it may be stated in general that the high hopes of Graffenried for the success of the colony were not realized. The financial resources which had been placed at his disposal were altogether inadequate to maintain the colonists and to supply them with the necessary provisions. Sickness, discontent, and open rebellion broke out. In addition, they were involved in an Indian war, in which New Berne was destroyed, sixty of the settlers were killed, and the rest scattered. Graffenried himself was unable to stay with his settlers. His creditors threatened him with a debtor's prison. Hence he left North Carolina secretly and went to Virginia, there to hunt for the supposed mines. Governor Alexander Spotswood received him kindly, even placed a warship at his disposal to help him in his hunt for the mines, in which the Governor himself was intensely interested. On July 26, 1712, the Governor made the following report to the Board of Trade in London:

"I have, since the return of Baron de Graffenried from Potomack, discoursed him concerning the probability of mines in these parts, he says, tho' he has no doubt of finding such from the accounts he received of one Mr. Mitchell, a Swiss Gentleman, who went on the like discoveries some years ago, yet he finds himself much discouraged from prosecuting his first intentions, not only because of the uncertainty of the property of the soil, whether belonging to the Queen or to the proprietors, but because the share which the crown may claim in those mines is also uncertain and that after all his trouble in the discovery he may chance to have only his labour for his pains. Whereas he would gladly employ his utmost diligence in making such discoveries, if it were once declared what share her Majesty would expect out of the produce of the mines or if her Majesty would be pleased to take the mines into her own hands, promising him a suitable reward for his discovery and granting him the superintending of the works with a handsome salary, he says it is a matter not new to him, there having been mines of like nature found on his father's lands in Switzerland, that he has some relations now concerned therein and by their interest can procure skillful workmen out of Germany for carrying on the works."

It was most likely at the suggestion of the Governor that Graffenried got in touch with miners in Germany, and, as he tells us, wrote to them repeatedly from America. Graffenried himself was soon afterwards compelled to leave America. His financial difficulties had become so urgent that he left Virginia secretly, and, as ship captains were prohibited, under heavy penalties, from taking on board any one declared insolvent, he had to make his way to New York by land. From there he

sailed for England. He arrived in London shortly after the death of Queen Anne, which took place on August 1 (or August 12, *n.s.*), 1713. His experiences in London can best be given in his own words:

"On my arrival in London I was extremely surprised to learn that the master-miner, Mr. J. Justus Albrecht, with some forty miners, had arrived. This caused me not a little pains, worry, vexation, and expense, since this people had come there so blindly, thinking to find everything necessary for their support and their transportation to the American mines. But there was nothing on hand for them, and I myself was so short of money that I could scarcely get enough for my needs. Meanwhile no money remained in America and at London no note had been sent to me, so that it was impossible for me to assist such a number of people. What unendurable load this was for me can well be imagined, because they thought that on account of the contract I was under obligation to look out for them, and they had come, thus, at my command. But I had written to them from America, and that repeatedly, and they had received several letters to the effect that the chief miner Justus Albrecht with his company should not come without my orders, saying that on account of the disturbances in Carolina and the Indian wars there was nothing to be done with the mines; and that they had not been shown by Mr. Michel, but if the chief miner wanted to come immediately with one or two others to take a look, he could do so. But he went right ahead with it in this thoughtless way.

"I knew no better advice than to direct them to return home. But this seemed to them so troublesome, that they preferred to serve four years as servants in America. Meanwhile there was no vessel ready to sail for America; they had to stay, therefore, in London during the whole winter till spring. But how were they to subsist? This caused me much trouble. Finally I went to one or two great Lords to procure work and bread for them. For some I got a place, but not for others. Meanwhile I was in a hurry to get home. At last I found two noble Virginia merchants, to whom I presented the matter as best I could; besides, I took counsel with Col. Blackiston, to whom I was recommended by the Governor of Virginia, precisely with regard to the mines, in order that his good offices might help me at Court. The result was that these people pooled their money to pay their expenses proportionally. The rest was to be advanced by one of the merchants to pay for transporting and provisioning these people. Upon their arrival the Governor was to receive them and care for them, pay the ship captain, who in turn was to reimburse the London merchants for the money they had advanced. In addition I wrote a circumstantial letter to Governot Spotswood, to whom I recommended that this small colony be placed upon the land in Virginia,

which we held in common, not far from the place where ore had been found and mines were supposed to be, where they could be settled by the wise measures and the good care of the Governor. However, if there were no prospects for silver mines, to look elsewhere. Moreover, since there were no iron or copper furnaces in Virginia, while such ores were present in abundance, a beginning could be made with these especially since they needed no royal patents as we did for the silver mines. I commended these good miners to the protection of the Almighty, and thus they left in the beginning of the year 1714."

We can now watch the arrival of these miners in Virginia. At the meeting of the Executive Council of Virginia, held on April 28, 1714, the Governor reported as follows:

"The Governor acquainted the Council that sundry Germans to the number of forty-two men, women, and children, who were invited hither by the Baron de Graffenried, are now arrived, but that the Baron not being here to take care of this settlement, the Governor therefore proposed to settle them above the falls of the Rappahannock River to serve as a Barrier to the inhabitants of that part of the country against the incursions of the Indians and desiring the opinion of the Council whether in consideration of their usefulness for that purpose, the charge of building them a fort, clearing a road to their settlement and carrying thither two pieces of cannon & some ammunition may not properly be defrayed by the publick.

"It is the unanimous opinion of this Board that the sd. settlement tending so much to the security of that part of the Frontiers, It is reasonable that the expense proposed by the Governor in making thereof, should be defrayed at the publick charge of the Government, and that a quantity of powder ball be delivered for their use out of her Majesties Magazine. And because the s'd Germans arriving so late cannot possibly this year cultivate any ground for their subsistence, much less be able to pay the public levies of the Government, it is the opinion of this Board that they be put under the denomination of Rangers to exempt them from that charge, and for the better enabling the s'd Germans to supply by hunting the want of proper provisions, It is also ordered that all other persons be restrained from hunting on any unpatented lands near the settlement."

Some months later the Governor duly notified the Board of Trade in London of the arrival of this colony in Virginia. He writes:

"I continue, all resolved, to settle out our Tributary Indians as a guard to ye Frontiers, and in order to supply that part, w'ch was to have been covered by the Tuscaruros, I have planted here a number of Protestant Germans, built them a Fort, and finish'd it with 2 pieces of Cannon and some Ammunition, which will awe the straggling partys of Northern

Indians, and be a good Barrier for all that part of the Country. These Germans were invited over some years ago, by Baron de Graffenried, who had her Majesty's Letter to ye Governor of Virginia to furnish them with Land upon their arrival. They are generally such as have been employed in their own country as miners, and say they are satisfied there are divers kinds of minerals in those parts of the country where they are settled, and even a good appearance of Silver Oar."

However, the Governor was not satisfied with these liberal initial measures for the German colony. In the year 1714 he had a law passed by the Legislature which exempted these Germans from all taxation and formed them into a separate parish, called the Parish of St. George. It also permitted them to maintain their own minister and absolved them from parish duties to the Church of England by Law Established. The opening paragraph of this law is interesting enough to be quoted in full:

"Whereas certain German Protestants to the number of forty-two persons or thereabouts, have been settled above the falls of the River Rappahannock, on the southern branch of said river called the Rapidan, at a place named Germanna, in the county of Essex and have there begun to build and make improvements for their cohabitation, to the great advantage of this colony and the security of the frontiers in those parts from the incursions of the Indians: For the encouragement therefore of the said Germans in their infant settlement be it enacted by the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Burgesses of this present General Assembly and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, that all and every the Germans, now seated at Germanna, shall be and are hereby declared to be free and discharged from the payment of all and all manner of publick and County Levies or Assessments whatsoever," etc.

From other scattered references in the Governor's letters we learn that he paid one hundred and fifty pounds for their transportation and subsisted them for nearly two years from his own means, and that in turn they were required to render yearly twelve days of work for each family. The governor had settled them on land which he himself had taken up. It was located on a remarkable horse-shoe peninsula of about four hundred acres, formed by the Rapidan river, and was fortified by the palisades and a block house. It is now in the northeast corner of the present Orange County.

Fortunately the names of these settlers are definitely known, from court orders granted to them in 1724, when they appeared before the county court of Spotsylvania County to prove their importation. One entry will show how these orders read:

"Jacob Holxrow [Holtzclaw], in order to prove his right to take up land according to the Royal Charter, made oath that he came into this

country in the month of April 1714 and that he brought with him Margaret his wife, and John and Henry his two sons, and that this is the first time of proving their said importation, whereupon certificate is ordered to be granted them of right to take up two hundred acres of land." The other settlers were:

John Camper [Kemper], his wife Alice Catherine.
 Johannas [John Joseph] Martin, and his wife Maria Catherine.
 John Spelman [Spielman] and his wife Mary.
 Harmon Fitchback [Herman Fischbach] and his wife Catherine.
 John Huffman [Hoffman] and his wife Catherine.
 Joseph Cuntz [Coons], his wife Catherine, his son John and Annalis [Anna Eliza] and Catherine, his daughters.
 John Fitchback [Fishbach] and his wife Agnes.
 Jacob Rickart [Richter, later Rector], his wife Elizabeth & son John.
 Milchert [Melchoir] Brumbach [Brombach] and wife Elizabeth.
 Dillman Weaver [Weber], and Anna Weaver, his mother.
 Peter Hitt [Heide] and wife Elizabeth.

There were twelve men, twelve women, and six children in this colony, a total of 30 persons. Not counted were Henry Hager and his wife Anna Catherine, probably because they did not get a separate assignment of land. How it happened that Governor Spotswood and the law of 1714 refer to 42 persons, while this court record mentions only 30 or 32 at most, we do not know, but there is more evidence that the first colony consisted of only twelve families.

In 1715 Germanna was visited by John Fontaine and two companions. John Fontaine has left the following interesting description of this visit in his journal, under date November 20, 1715:

"About five p.m. we crossed a bridge that was made by the Germans, and about six we arrived at the German settlement. We went immediately to the minister's house. We found nothing to eat, but lived upon our small provisions, and lay upon good straw. We passed the night very indifferently.

"21st. Our beds not being very easy, as soon as it was day, we got up. It rained hard; notwithstanding, we walked about the town, which is palisaded with stakes stuck in the ground, and close the one to the other, and of substance to bear out a musket-shot. There are but nine families and they have nine houses, built all in a line, and before every house, about twenty feet distant from it, they have small sheds built for their hogs and hens, so that hog-sties and houses make a street. The place that is paled in is a pentagon, very regularly laid out, and in the very centre there is a blockhouse, made with five sides, which answer to the five sides of the great inclosure; there are loopholes through it, from which

you may see all the inside of the inclosure. This was intended for a retreat for the people, in case they were not able to defend the palisadoes, if attacked by the Indians. They make use of this blockhouse for divine service. They go to Prayers constantly once a day, and have two sermons on Sunday. We went to hear them perform their service, which was done in their own language, which we did not understand, but they seemed to be very devout and sang the Psalms very well. This town or settlement is upon Rappahannock River, thirty miles above the falls, and thirty miles from any inhabitants. The Germans live very miserably. We would tarry here some time, but for want of provisions we are obliged to go. We got from the minister a bit of smoked beef and cabbage, which were very ordinary. We made a collection between us three of about thirty shillings for the minister; and about twelve of the clock we took our leave and set out to return.”⁷

After living for four years at Germanna, the Reformed people began in 1718 to look about for another place of settlement. The reason for this removal seems to be found in an accusation, made against the Governor by his political enemies, and answered by him on February 7, 1716, that he “patented the land [at Germanna] in the name of Wiliam Robertson to his own private use and leasing the same to the Germans, not permitting them to take up ye same to there own use.” The Governor contended that the land was indeed his, but he failed to see any misdemeanor in taking up land for his own use like any other citizen. As the land contained valuable iron ore, we need not be surprised that the Governor refused to part with it. On the other hand the Germans refused to be tenants longer than necessary to fulfill their obligations to the Governor. They wanted to set up their own homes and, as they could not do this at Germanna, they made up their minds to leave.

In one of the earliest suits, brought in Fauquier County by Jacob Spillman against Mary Gent, the complainant recites in his bill, filed on September 27, 1759, that

“Some time in the year of our Lord 1718, Jacob Holtzclaw, John Hoffman, John Fishback, Peter Hitt, Harmon Fishback, Tillman Weaver, John S. Dillman, and several other Germans, made an entry of a large tract of land, known by the name of German town, and the said Germans came to an agreement with each other, that they should be of equal expense and that the whole lands should be divided equally amongst all the partners by lot, but as all the partners were Germans, born beyond the sea out of allegiance of our Sovereign Lord the King and none of them had ever been naturalized or created denizens, except John Hoffman, John Fishback, and Jacob Holtzclaw.”

⁷ See *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, by Anne Massry, (1853), 267ff.

It was unanimously agreed that the patent for the said land should be taken out in the name of these three and that they should give leases for ninety-nine years to each partner with covenants to renew. The patent for the Germantown land was issued on August 22, 1724. But before they removed to their new settlement it was found necessary to make provision for their religious worship. Thus far they had worshipped in the block-house at Germanna, but who would build and maintain a church at their new settlement? Where would they get a new minister, if their old pastor should die? Hence they determined to send an agent to England and Germany to collect money for a new church and thus secure the future of their congregation. This was done in 1719. When the agent, Mr. Jacob Zollikoffer, arrived in London he laid a petition before the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," to which reference has been made at the beginning of this sketch. The opening sentences read:

"The Case of thirty-two Protestant families settled in Virginia, humbly sheweth: That twelve Protestant German families, consisting of about fifty persons, arrived April, 1714, in Virginia, and were settled near Rapahannock river. That in 1717 twenty Protestant German families more, consisting of about four score persons, came and set down near their countrymen. And many more, both German and Swiss families, are likely to come there and settle likewise. That for the enjoyment of the ministries of religion there will be a necessity of building a small church in the place of their settlement and of maintaining a minister, who shall catechize, read and perform offices among them in the German tongue, which is the only language they do yet understand.

"That there went over with the first twelve German families one minister, named Henry Haeger, a very sober, honest man, of about 75 years of age; but being likely to be past service in a short time they have impowered Mr. Jacob Christophle Zollikoffer, of St. Gall in Switzerland, to go into Europe and there obtain if possible contributions from pious and charitable Christians," etc. When this petition was laid before the Society on October 2, 1719, it was agreed that "Virginia not being under the immediate care of the society they cannot properly send a missionary thither," but they were willing to send them twenty-five copies of the Book of Common Prayer in the German language.

When the agent, Mr. Zollikoffer, reached Germany, a number of appeals were printed in newspapers and periodicals. One appeared in the *Extraordinaire Kayserliche Reichs-Post-Zeitung*, of Frankfurt, under date June 15, 1720. It reads in part:

"Seventy-two families came to Virginia, the largest part of them, however, had to pay the passage, according to the custom of the country, with several years of servitude among the English people there. The rest,

being free, consisted of thirty-two families, of whom twelve are Evangelical-Reformed and twenty Lutherans. They, together with an old Reformed minister, Henry Hager, 76 years of age, have established a colony in the year 1714 in the said Virginia, called Germantown, on the Brapenhenck [Rappahannock]. Here at a well situated place, under the sovereignty of Great Britian, they support themselves in all quietness by agriculture and the raising of cattle, hoping that they will increase and prosper."

The results of Mr. Zollikoffer's mission are briefly summed up in a periodical, called *Europaeische Fama*, also in the year 1720:

"As much as is known to us the commission of Mr. Zollikoffer has not been without a blessing. Especially the book-dealers at Leipzig have presented him with a considerable number of necessary and useful books, and they have erected for themselves a lasting mounument in the German colony at Germantown. Nor have other liberal hearts and charitable hands been wanting. Thus the above-mentioned Mr. Zollikoffer has been able to return at the beginning of the present fall to England to sail back to America with his collected money."

The exact time when the German Reformed part of the Germanna colony left their first place of settlement is not known. The movement began in 1718, when an entry for land in Fauquier County was made. The actual removal seems to have taken place in 1721. The oldest house in Germantown still standing, that of the Weaver family, bore until recently the date 1721, inscribed on a plank. The new settlement, called Germantown, was located on the Licking Run, in Stafford (now Fauquier) County, about eight miles south of Warrenton, the present county seat.

In their new settlement the colonists continued to enjoy the favor of the reigning party, for in the year 1730 an act was passed "to exempt certain German Protestants in Stafford from the payment of parish levies." Their pastor, Henry Haeger, who in 1713 was too sick in Germany to continue his work, lived for a good many years. On April 10, 1733 he made his last will, which reads as follows:

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. I Henry Hager, Minister of the Word of God among the Germans At Licking Run in Prince Wm. County, being very sick and weak, but of perfect and sound memory, praised be God for the same, do nominate, ordain constitute and appoint this my last Will and Testament, in manner and form following:

"Imprimis. I give unto my loving wife Anna Catharina all my estate, goods, and chattels whatsoever during her natural life.

"Item. I give unto by Grand daughter Anna Catharina Fishbach one cow and calf.

"Item. After the decease of my wife Anna Catharina I will and ordain that all my estate, goods and chattels whatsoever, be then divided

amongst my seven grandchildren, Anna Catharina Fishback, John Frederick Fishback, Elizabeth Fishback, Henry Fishback, Agnes Hoffman, Anna Catharina Hoffman and John Hoffman.

"Item. I hereby revoke and make void all other and all former Wills and Testaments by me heretofore made. In testimony that this is my last Will and Testament, I hereunto set my hand and affix my Seal, this die 10. Aprilis Anno Domini 1733.

"H. Hager, Verbi Dei Minister.

"Signed, sealed and acknowledged by the Testator in the presence of
Jacob Holtzclaw
Johan Jost Minter [Martin]
Johannes Camper."

This will was admitted to probate on March 28, 1737, from which we can conclude that Haeger died during the previous month at the remarkable age of ninety-three years.

In 1739 the congregation at Germantown appealed to the Deputies of the Synods of Holland for aid in securing a new pastor. On Nov. 16, 1739, the Deputies passed this resolution: "Inasmuch as the congregation in Virginia demands a minister and has offered a certain salary for him, we ought to look around to find out whether there is any one willing to go there on these conditions." Their efforts to secure such a minister were not successful.

From 1743 to 1748 a number of Moravian missionaries visited the Germantown settlement. They have left us interesting accounts of their visit. The first of these missionaries were Rev. Leonard Schnell and Robert Hussey. On November 22, 1743, they reached Germantown. They write:

"After we had traveled 35 miles today we happened to come to a German house. I asked for lodging. They received us willingly. They asked that we should stay and preach on Sunday, as they had a church, but had not heard a sermon for six months. On the following day, Nov. 23rd, it rained hard. The above mentioned man early brought me a horse and went with us five miles farther to a 'Reader' in Germantown on the Liken Run. His name is Holtzklo. A large Reformed congregation lives here together. He received me very friendly, when he heard that I was a minister. He related that Mr. Rieger^s had come twice every year to preach for them and to hold the Lord's Supper. But now he had gone to Germany and hence they were altogether abandoned. They had indeed written to Germany several times for a minister, who would care

^s Rev. John Bartholomew Rieger was pastor at Lancaster, Pa., from April 1739 to February 1743. He then went to Germany to study medicine. He appeared before the Classis of Amsterdam on November 5, 1743.

for the salvation of their souls and not for money. But no one was willing to come. There are two other places in the neighborhood which desire a minister.

"Sunday, November 24th. I gave them a sermon in their church on Rom. 5:1. About one hundred persons had assembled and if the weather had not been so disagreeable, more would have come. It is quite a pretty little church, kept in good order and clean. The people were very attentive and eager to hear. God's grace was with me and I felt at home among them."

Again several years intervene before Germantown, Virginia, appears once more. In the minutes of the first German Reformed Synod (or Coetus as it was then called), held on September 29 to October 2, 1747, in Philadelphia, the following resolution is found:

"It is also resolved that in the letter to Holland, Monocacy and Conococheague, in Maryland, and Shenandoah, South Branch, Potomac and Lyken Run, or Germantown [in Virginia], be most favorably mentioned, and to intercede for the same, that they may receive a minister for themselves, or at least some other help."

Another missionary, the Rev. Matthew G. Gottschalk, visited Germantown from April 9 to 12, 1748. He describes eleven German settlements in Virginia, the 8th and 9th as follows:⁹

8. THE LITTLE FORK OF THE RIPPEHANING. It is situated about 22 miles from the Great Fork, towards the Potomac. Twelve families from the Siegen district, of the Reformed Religion, live there together. They are fine, neighborly and friendly people, who love each other in their manner and live very peacefully. The brother of our Matthew Hoffman, John Henry Hoffman, also lives there and I lodged with him. They have built a small, neat and suitable church, and have engaged one of their number, John Jung, to be the Reader in the church, who conducts services every Sunday. They cannot get a minister, because there are so few of them that they cannot raise enough money, sufficient to pay a minister's salary. I preached for them, which they accepted with thanks.

"9. GERMANTOWN. It is like a village in Germany, where the houses are far apart. It is situated along a little creek, called Lucken Run. They are from the Siegen district and all Reformed people. They live about ten miles from the Little Fork of the Rippehanning. They have as their reader the old Mr. Holtzklo,¹⁰ who receives annually from each family thirty pounds of tobacco as salary. There is a church and schoolhouse.

⁹ The Moravian diaries quoted are in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

¹⁰ John Jacob Holzklaue was born at Troppach, near Siegen, Germany, in 1683. He came to Virginia in April, 1714, was naturalized on April 11, 1722. His will was probated in 1760.

I preached in the church with the approbation of all. They thought that the Holy Spirit had sent me to them. They would have liked to keep me as their regular minister, if I so desired. They asked me that I should visit them again. There is an open door."

The last visitor to Germantown whom we shall quote is the Rev. Michael Schlatter, who undertook his "great journey" to Maryland and Virginia in May and June, 1748. On the 9th of May, 1748, he left Frederick, Md., with an elder of that congregation. On the 10th they stopped at Fredericktown [Winchester], Strasburg, and Woodstock, Va.

"On the 12th [of May] we continued our journey towards the south-west [east], not without weariness and danger from wild beasts, forty-two miles farther to New Germantown.¹¹ Here I preached on the 13th and spoke with the good congregation, promising them that, by the help of God, I would visit them again at some other time and remain longer with them. In the afternoon we commenced our return journey to Monocacy and came to the Goes [Goose] River; we traveled a wearisome road of fifty-five [thirty-five] miles through a rough and wild wilderness, and in the evening were overtaken by a thunder-gust. On the 14th, after a journey of nineteen miles more, we came, to our great joy to a good house on the Potomac—which is here one-third broader than it was farther up at the Connogocheague—here for a short time we enjoyed rest and refreshment, after which we continued with new zeal on our journey, and went the same day twenty-one miles farther, and reached Monocacy in good time."¹²

The ultimate fate of these Reformed congregations is briefly described by the Rev. James Kemper, a grandson of John Kemper, the immigrant. He writes in his "Life's Review," as follows:

"They kept up their worship, both public and private, in the German language and their schools also, till being, as it were, lost in the crowd, the first generation removed by death, and all their public political matter transacted in English, their language was gradually lost in the second generation. I spoke a dialect of the German language as used in my father's house, till I was ten or twelve years old, but have now almost entirely lost it."¹³

¹¹ The term "New Germantown" is also used in other records. Alexander Spotswood conveyed to Thomas Byrn & Martha, his wife, two plantations in the fork of Rappahannock river, in St. George's parish, "part of that land known as *New Germantown*," on Dec. 17, 1728. Spotsylvania County Records, II, 105.

¹² There are two misprints in Schlatter's Diary, which have been corrected. They have caused a great deal of confusion. See Harbaugh, *Life of Schlatter*, 175f.

¹³ See *Kemper Genealogy*, (1899), p. 40.

JOHN JACOB OEL (EHL)

1689-1781

John Jacob Ehl was baptized at Hachenburg, Nassau, Germany, on May 15, 1689. He was the son of John Henry Ehl and his wife Magdalena. On February 29, 1688, "Hans Heinrich Ehl, praeceptor," born at Astert, in the parish of Kronbach, was married to Magdalena, daughter of John Freudenberg, surgeon. John Henry Ehl was parochial schoolmaster at Hachenburg, from 1687-1700. In 1700 he went to Neunkirchen to fill the same position there, but returned to Hachenburg in 1702.¹

Young John Jacob entered the Latin school at Herborn on May 7, 1705. The matriculation book states: "On May 7, 1705, Johannes Jacobus Ehlius and Theodorus Liecherus, were received into the first class from the school at Hachenburg." He matriculated in the University of Herborn on October 7, 1706, as Johannes Jacobus Ohl."

We know nothing about him till 1722, when he appeared in London. He applied to the Bishop of London for ordination and was duly ordained on August 12, 1722. His ordination certificate is still in existence. We present the following translation of this document:

"By these presents, we John, by divine permission Bishop of London, make known to all Persons, that on the 12th day of August A.D. 1722, at the chapel within our Palace of Fulham, in the County of Middlesex, we the aforesaid John, Bishop as aforesaid, representing, by the help of God, the Holy Orders, have admitted and promoted John Jacob Ehl, beloved of us in Christ Jesus, a scholar abundantly commended to us, as laudable in life, unblemished in morals and virtue, skilled in the knowledge and study of good letters, and sufficiently entitled, and moreover examined and approved by our Examiner, in the sacred Order of Presbyter, according to our custom and rite, wisely appointed and provided for in this part of the English Church, and him did we then and there virtually and canonically ordain Presbyter.

"In testimony whereof we have caused to be affixed to these presents the Seal of our Episcopate according to the day and year aforesaid, and in the ninth year of our translation.

(signed) John. London."²

Although ordained by the Bishop of London, he was not appointed

¹ See M. Dahlhoff, *Geschichte der Grafschaft Sayn*, (1874), 244.

² See *Dominie John Jacob Ehle*, by Boyd Ehle, St. Johnsville, 1930.

missionary to the Palatines by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. There is only an indefinite allusion to him in the Journal of the Society. On August 17, 1722, the minutes state:

“Ordered that his Excellency, the Governor of New York, be also acquainted that there is a number of Palatines in their passage to New York and that a German minister will soon follow them.”

On November 20, 1724, the *Journal* of the Society reports that “they had a letter from John James Ehlig to the Lord Bishop of London, dated Schohare the 29th of June 1724, advising that it’s about two years since he went over from Germany to New York with a great congregation of Palatines, since which time he has officiated as pastor and minister among his countrymen the Palatines, in the room of the late Mr. Haeger, and lived first near Lowengen [Kingsbury], as his predecessor had done, who built him a house there, but the people being spread widely up and down and poor and unable to support a minister, he (Mr. Ehlig) removed to Schohare near Albany where there was a large number of Palatines and where he has officiated since. Gives an account of the manner of his performing divine service which is according to the rites of the Church of England. . . . He prays the Society to allow him the salary, formerly allowed to Mr. Haeger. Whereupon the Com. agreed as their opinion, that considering the present circumstances of the Society and the new expenses they have agreed to engage in, that it will not be proper to settle a salary upon Mr. Ehlig, but upon his transmitting from New York certificates of his officiating as he acquaints, the Society may make his a gratuity.”

On October 2, 1725, Mr. Ehl thanked the Society for allowing him a gratuity and assured them that he would not have troubled them but for the necessitous condition in which he found himself; and that the Governor had agreed to send them his certificates.

On June 17, 1723, Mr. Ehl had married Johanna van Slyck, daughter of Peter Willemse and Johanna Hanz Barheit van Slyck, of Kinderhook, New York.

In addition to his work in Schohaire Mr. Ehl had extended his ministry also to the Palatines along the Mohawk River and to those of Stone Arabia. At the latter place a congregation was organized, a church was built and he became its first pastor.

On June 15, 1730, he addressed another letter to the Bishop of London, in which he acquainted him with the fact that “he sometimes visited two settlements of Palatines at the Makeassex [Mohawk] and a place called Vhall [Little Falls] and setting forth that the people are very poor and have not been able to contribute quite 30 pounds a year in that country’s money to his support; that he has a wife and three children and

has been forced by mere necessity to contract some debts and most humbly prays the Lord Bishop to lay his cause before the Society for their consideration, for obtaining for him some annual salary or other assistance. Whereupon the Committee agreed to move the Society to make him a gratuity of 20 pounds in consideration of his past services and his present very straight circumstances." To this proposal the Society agreed.

In 1749 Mr. Oel³ informed the Society that since the departure of the Rev. Mr. Barclay he had carried on his work among the Indians. At Canegoharie Castle, where he lived among the Mohawks, he was baptizing both children and adults. He was also active in two villages of the Oneidas. In one village he had baptized twenty adults and children, teaching them by signs and other methods of communication. He had also converted seventeen Tuscaroras during the three years that Mr. Barclay had been away. As a result of this letter, the Society appointed him in 1750 as their missionary among the Indians. On April 17, 1751, he thanked the Society for his appointment and "promised faithfully to discharge his duties as long as he shall continue among them."

About this time he moved his home to a more central location on the left bank of the Mohawk River, opposite to the Middle Mohawk Castle, which is now in Nelliston, N. Y. His son Peter built in 1752 an addition to the house, still standing, which has his initials P.E. and the year 1752 in a round recess in the south gable end.

In November 1761, he wrote the Society, stating among other things that he was seventy-two years of age, which carries us back to 1689 as the year of his birth and confirms the identification with John Jacob Ehl, who was born in Hachenburg in the year 1689.

His last letter to the Society was written from Canajoharie May 15, 1770, where, he states, he had been laboring for the last two years. Mr. Oel died in 1781, at the patriarchal age of 92 years. "He was buried in the old Frey burial place near the present Palatine Bridge, N. Y."

Finally, it may be of interest to know how his neighbors regarded him, before he became the Society's missionary to the Indians. On January 13, 1725, Conrad Weiser records in his autobiography, that "my daughter Anna Madeline was baptized by John Jacob Oehl, Reformed clergyman."

³ From 1749 onwards he signed his letters: John Jacob Oel. His descendants now write the name Ehle. Ehle, *op. cit.*, 5.

JOHN BECHTEL

1690-1777

John Bechtel was one of the few ministers who have left brief autobiographies behind them, which enables us to follow their European antecedents more closely than would otherwise be possible.

John Bechtel was born October 3, 1690, at Weinheim, in the Palatinate. He was the son of John Peter Bechtel, a merchant at Frankenthal, in the Palatinate. When this town was burnt by the French, in their invasion of the Palatinate, the parents fled to Weinheim, where two children were born to them, Michael in 1693, and Jonas in 1697. The parents were pious people who early accustomed their children to attend church and the church school. The mother died in John's ninth, his father in his fourteenth year. In the year 1704 young John went to Heidelberg, where he was apprenticed to a wood-turner, a near relative, who kept him under strict discipline. He continued his attendance upon church and his reading of the Bible, to which he felt heartily inclined. In the fall of 1709 he left Heidelberg and started on a three-year period of travel as a journeyman, which brought him in contact with other journeymen, who proved to be wild companions, leading him into reckless living. In course of time, however, the influence of his Christian boyhood asserted itself and brought him to repentance and a changed life.

In 1714 his friends persuaded him to set himself up in his trade as a master-turner at Heidelberg. There he married, in February, 1715, Maria Apollonia Marrett, who later accompanied him to America. They had nine children, of whom five daughters survived. In 1717 he moved to Frankenthal, where he resided for nine years.

In 1726, he, with his wife and three children, emigrated to Pennsylvania. He settled in Germantown. He soon became the religious leader of the German Reformed people in Germantown and vicinity. In 1728 he began preaching to them, after having received from Heidelberg a written license to preach. Under his leadership the congregation bought a lot of one-eighth of an acre. On November 8, 1732, it was conveyed by Henry Frederick & wife of Germantown to John Bechtel, turner, Christopher Meng, mason, John Baumann, carpenter, and George Bensel, storekeeper. In 1733 a church was built on this ground, which is described by John Philip Boehm as "a well-built, large stone church." In 1734 Boehm reports that the congregation had about thirty communicant members.

At first (1727-1734) Bechtel acted as lay preacher, while Messrs.

Weiss, Miller, and Rieger were the regular pastors. As they preached in Germantown only once every third Sunday, there was opportunity for a lay preacher on the intervening Sundays. Boehm informs us, in his letter of July 8, 1744, that, "when Bartholomew Rieger, who preached for them occasionally, had left them, they allowed Bechtel to preach for them constantly."

In 1738 Bechtel became acquainted with Joseph Spangenberg, later a bishop of the Moravian Brethren, who had come to Pennsylvania in 1737 to survey its religious condition. He made his home with Christopher Wiegner, at Skippack, where he soon gathered a group of twenty-five pietistically inclined friends, who were known as the "Associated Brethren of Skippack." They met once every four weeks for religious edification. Henry Fry and Jacob Wentz, of Skippack; Henry Antes, of Frederick; John Bechtel and George Bensel, of Germantown, (to mention a few of the Reformed leaders) participated in this association, and, according to the statement of Bechtel, "enjoyed many a blessed hour together."¹

When Count Zinzendorf arrived in Pennsylvania in December, 1741, to unite all German religious bodies into one unity of the Spirit, John Bechtel joined the movement enthusiastically as realizing the goal of the Associated Brethren. When Zinzendorf met Bechtel, shortly after his arrival, he asked to see his "workshop." Bechtel, not accustomed to figurative language, thought at first that he meant his turner shop. When he found out that the Count meant his church, he showed it to him willingly. The count asked, "How many persons does it hold?" Bechtel replied: "About a thousand." "I see," said the count, "I shall have a great deal of work, when I return." Zinzendorf preached for the first time in the German Reformed Church on December 20, 1741. When Henry Antes, another member of the "Associated Brethren," explained to Zinzendorf his plans for a union conference of all the denominations, Zinzendorf readily agreed with him, because he saw in it a means of carrying out his own ideas. As a result, Antes issued a circular, on December 15, 1741 (o.s.), calling for a conference to meet in Germantown on January 1, 1742, "in order to treat peaceably concerning the most important articles of faith, and to ascertain how far they might all agree in the most essential points, for the purpose of promoting mutual love and forbearance."

In compliance with the call sent out by Henry Antes, six union conferences were held in 1742. But even at the first meeting, at the house of Theobald Endt, in Germantown, differences of opinion appeared,

¹See John Adam Gruber's report in Fresenius, *Nachrichten von Herrnhutischen Sachen*, (1748), III, 127; also Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, [Phila., 1870], 60, n.

which led to heated discussions. At the third conference the name "Congregation of God in the Spirit" was adopted. At the fifth conference, held at Germantown, April 6-9, 1742, a catechism was published for the Reformed churches, under the editorship of Bechtel. That this catechism was written by Bechtel (as stated by all Reformed historians) is clearly disproved by an entry in the *Bethlehem Diary*. Under date July 11/22, 1742 we read: "Afterwards Bro. Andrew Eschenbach and Gottlob Buettner read from the catechism for the Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania, which Bro. Ludwig (Zinzendorf) wrote and Brother Bechtel edited." That was really all that was claimed on the title page of the booklet: "Edited [*herausgegeben*] by Johannes Bechtel." This was well known to contemporary writers. Mr. Boehm put it clearly when he wrote: "It is perfectly clear that he only shot off the bullet which Count Zinzendorf had cast." (*Life of Boehm*, p. 359).

Shortly after the fifth conference, on Palm Sunday, April 22, 1742, John Bechtel was ordained by Bishop David Nitschmann, at Philadelphia, and was appointed inspector of the Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania. When this came to the knowledge of Boehm, he replied in a public letter: "John Bechtel will not succeed in persuading the sincere, Evangelical Reformed members of our church to recognize his office to which he lays claim in the booklet published by him." After his ordination Bechtel called upon all the Reformed people of Germantown and neighborhood to assemble in the Reformed Church on Monday after Pentecost, 1742. At this meeting he declared that he was willing to organize a Reformed congregation, and that all who wished to be members and to adhere to the articles of the Synod of Berne (of which nobody had ever heard) should sign their names. He promised to administer the sacraments after the Reformed custom and to instruct the children in a Reformed catechism, either the Heidelberg, or Basle, or Berne catechism, whichever they desired. As a result, seventeen or eighteen signed their names.²

A regular election for pastor took place at Germantown on January 23, 1743, when Bechtel was elected for one year, with the understanding "that he would henceforth adhere to the Reformed doctrine and always teach the Heidelberg catechism in its purity and in all its points." But hardly a week afterwards he objected publicly to the eightieth and the one hundred and eighteenth questions, saying that the first (on the Catholic Mass) was not necessary in this country and the latter was not true, because those who were converted no longer committed sin. By such and similar statements Bechtel deeply offended many of his people.

² See Boehm's *Getreuer Warnungsbrief*, (Phila., 1742), 86.

When the year was up, he was dismissed, on Sunday, February 9, 1744. The motto for the day, in the *Daily Reading Lessons* (Tägliche Loosungen) of the Brethren, as he learned afterwards, was based on Gal. 4:26: "Jerusalem that is above is the mother of us all." The motto read:

"There is in East and West, For those who are oppressed,
Still something that is good, In our brotherhood."

This meant, as Bechtel interpreted it, that though the heavenly Jerusalem is our ultimate home, meanwhile the (Moravian) congregation was the best place of refuge for the persecuted. This thought comforted him in his removal from the Reformed pastorate.

Early in the year 1746 Bechtel received permission to come to Bethlehem. The actual removal took place on September 13, 1746. In Bethlehem he was active in the "Brethren Economy," especially in his trade as turner, which meant that he did all kinds of wood work.

In January, 1746, a number of people in Germantown requested the Bethlehem authorities to open a boarding school for their children at Germantown. A Union Synod, meeting at Bethlehem January 24-27, 1746, resolved: "We believe that the time has come to open an institution for the children in Germantown and Philadelphia. We accept the house of John Bechtel, which by his own free will he publicly offered to us."

In December, 1776, Bechtel began to suffer from gall stones. He died April 16, 1777, and on Sunday, April 20th, was buried in the Moravian cemetery at Bethlehem.

John Bechtel was a well-meaning and sincere Christian, but he was not cut out for an energetic leader of men or a successful manager of church affairs.

JOHN PETER MUELLER (MILLER)

1709-1796

One of the most remarkable and eccentric characters that ever filled a Reformed pulpit was the Rev. John Peter Mueller, who later changed his name to Miller.

According to the inscription on his tombstone he was born on December 25, 1709. He himself states in the *Ephrata Chronicle* (Engl. Ed. p. 70) that his home was in the district of Lautern (i.e. Kaiserslautern), in the Palatinate. On December 29, 1725, "Johannes Petrus Mullerus, Altbornensis," matriculated at the University of Heidelberg¹.

¹ Toepke, *Matrikel*, IV, 55.

A letter from the pastor at Alsenborn², a village a short distance north of Kaiserslautern, brought the information that his father, the Rev. John Mueller (born April 26, 1676) was from 1707 to 1714, pastor at Zweikirchen and Wolfstein, near Kaiserslautern; from 1714 to 1726 pastor at Alsenborn; and from 1726 to 1741 pastor at Altenkirchen, near Homburg, in the Rhineprovince, where he died May 11, 1741.

His son, John Peter, must have been born at Zweikirchen, during his father's pastorate there. Unfortunately, neither the church nor the church records of Zweikirchen are now in existence. The reference to Alsenborn in the matriculation book at Heidelberg means that this was the home of his parents when he attended the university.

Nothing is known about the early life of Peter Miller, except what is contained in a brief reference in a letter from Ephrata, signed K., published in the *Berliner Monatsschrift* of May 1785.³ After giving a somewhat discouraging account of the condition of the Ephrata community, the writer continues:

"Peter Miller, the only educated man [in the society], studied in Heidelberg and was authorized [licensed] to preach but not to baptize. With thirty guldens in his pocket he left his father. Afterwards he preached in this country, and at the request of a German country congregation was ordained by the Presbyterian clergy of Philadelphia. After four years he resigned his congregations, was converted, baptized others and was himself baptized; and six months after the organization of this society he joined it. Previously he lived as a hermit."

The two important questions, why he left his father, and how he could get to Pennsylvania with thirty guldens, are left unanswered.

On August 29, 1730, a list of seventy-seven Palatines, with their families making in all two hundred and sixty persons, was presented in the court house at Philadelphia. They had arrived on the ship "Thistle," of Glasgow, Colin Dunlop, master, having come from Rotterdam, but last from Dover, England. Seventy-four of these passengers signed the oath of allegiance to the King of England. The 69th person was "Peter Müller," signed in bold German script. A number of his fellow-passengers appeared shortly afterwards as members of Reformed congregations at Philadelphia, Skippack, Goshenhoppen, and Falkner Swamp.

Shortly after his arrival in Pennsylvania Peter Miller came in contact with John Philip Boehm, the first Reformed minister in the province. He called on Mr. Boehm at his home in Whitpain Township, and had a

² Letter of the Rev. Mr. Born, of Alsenborn, to the writer, dated June 5, 1914. See also Gümbel, *Geschichte der Protestantischen Kirche in der Pfalz*, 604.

³ Reprinted in the *Deutsche Pionier*, XIII (1881), 127-132.

lengthy conversation with him, about which Boehm reported to the Classis of Amsterdam in a letter dated November 12, 1730:

"Meanwhile no peace can yet be expected, for there arrived this fall another man, named Miller, whose father is pastor in the Electoral Palatinate, under the inspectorate of Kaiserslautern. He likewise avails himself of the liberty of this country, and so far has been preaching to the seceders at Schippach, as the enclosed letter, marked F, shows. He has promised them, as also the people in Philadelphia and Germantown, to take the place of Mr. Weiss until the latter returns. In order to carry this out successfully, he betook himself to the Presbyterians in Philadelphia (because he is unordained), that he might be ordained by them. This he himself told me at my house on October 19th, saying that in the preceding week he had handed them his confession of faith concerning the points they had asked him, and expressing the hope that the affair [of his ordination] would be concluded in the following week, which, as far as I know, has not yet taken place.

"I warned him in a friendly way and advised him to go to the Reverend Ministers of New York and endeavor to have his ordination take place in accordance with the Church Order of the Reformed Church, whereby it would stand a better test before the world. To this he replied that such a course was far too circuitous for him and, if he could gain his end by a shorter way he would take it, as there was no great difference. Moreover, he said, he would like to know who had given authority to the Classis of Amsterdam to rule over the Church in this country. He thought the King of England was more important than the Classis of Holland. Then I answered that it was asking too much who had given her the authority and that I did not care anything about that, but that I believed, if the Classis had no such authority she would not have taken us under her care and supervision, that I for one was subject to her and would always be glad to act under her direction, etc. Then I received this fine reprimand: 'There is such a glorious liberty in this country that the people themselves are free to elect, accept and also dismiss their preachers. It is not right to attempt to deprive them of this liberty and subject them to a Classis, which can force upon them such ministers as she desires. Christians have liberty and are in this world under no head, Christ alone is their head in heaven.'

"He also remarked that the people had called me only temporarily, until they could get another minister. I showed him my call. He said there was nothing in it, that they had called me for life. Then I answered him: The Reverend Classis had recognized it as a lawful call, if he were wiser than the Classis he would have to take it up with her. I furthermore reminded him, that I also regarded Christ as the head of the church,

yet I believed that Christ ruled his church on earth through agents, wherefore I would rather be under supervisors, divinely appointed, in order to preserve good order in the Church of Christ than stand on my own freedom. On this point he did not agree with me.”⁴

This conversation reveals clearly the difference in character between these two men—Boehm, methodical, exact, strong for order and church government, firmly attached to the faith and customs of his church; Miller, easy-going, chafing under restraint, glad to be free from the restrictions of the old world, caring little for the visible church, but dreaming of the spiritual church of all believers. This attitude furnishes the key to the future events of his life.

Miller carried out his intention of securing ordination from the Presbyterians. On September 19, 1730, he appeared before the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia and asked for ordination. It was “agreed by Synod that Mr. John Peter Miller, a Dutch probationer, lately come over, be left to the care of the Presbytery of Philadelphia to settle him in the work of the ministry.”

Unfortunately, the minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia from 1717 to 1732 are missing; hence it is impossible to give all the details. But a letter of the Rev. Jedidiah Andrews, pastor of the old Buttonwood Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, supplies the omission in part. On October 14, 1730, he wrote to his friend, the Rev. Thomas Prince, pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, as follows:

“There is lately come over a Palatine candidate of the ministry, who having applied to us at the Synod, for ordin’n, ’t is left to 3 ministers to do it. He as an extraordinary person for sense and learning. We gave him a question to discuss about Justification, and he answered it in a whole sheet of paper, in a very notable manner. His name is John Peter Miller, and speaks Latin as readily as we do our vernacular tongue, and so does the other, Mr. Weiss.”

Many years afterwards Miller himself wrote about these events to a friend who had inquired about his past and the origin of the Ephrata community. The letter is dated December 5, 1790, and reads in part as follows:

“As concerning our transactions during that long term of our residence at Ephrata, I wish I could satisfy thine curiosity. I have published a *Chronicon Ephratense*, of which I could make thee a present, if thou art master of the German language. However I will do something to satisfy thee. In August, 1730, I arrived at Philadelphia, and was there at the end of said year, upon order of the Scotch Synod, ordained, in

⁴ *Life of Boehm*, 199f.

the old Presbyterian meeting house by three eminent ministers, Tennent, Andrews, and Boyd."

Miller served the congregations of Philadelphia, Germantown, and Skippack from September, 1730, to the fall of 1731, when another Reformed minister, the Rev. John Bartholomew Rieger, arrived, with a colony of German settlers. Miller then surrendered his congregations to Rieger and moved to the Goshenhoppen region, where he supplied New and Old Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp.

Boehm makes the following report about Miller's activity at Goshenhoppen:

"When he [Weiss] traveled to Holland, in order to obtain the well-known moneys collected there, they immediately clung to Miller, who, assisted by another person, continued to serve Goshenhoppen. By their services at Skippack they kept the congregation there in a state of continued restlessness, which had been begun by Weiss. All petitions, entreaties and warnings were in vain."

The activity of Miller at New Goshenhoppen can be traced in the church record. From June, 1731, to July, 1734, Miller entered sixty-nine baptisms, at one of which, on April 16, 1732, "Johann Peter Müller," acted as sponsor.

For Great Swamp there is this evidence: on December 12, 1734, the Rev. Martin Boltzius, Lutheran minister at Ebenezer, Georgia, wrote to Dr. G. A. Francke of Halle, Germany:

"In the above-named Great Swamp there is also a small Reformed congregation, which has a pastor of its own." This can refer to Miller only⁵. By 1733 Miller had moved to the Conestoga Valley in Lancaster County. In a letter of February 13, 1733, Conrad Tempelman wrote to the Synods in Holland:

"The congregation, on account of its enlargement and the great distances between the members, has divided itself into six meeting places in Chanastoka, whereas three places are served by a Reformed minister, John Peter Müller, by name, by whom another strong congregation is served about seven hours [21 miles] distant, called Dolbenhacken."

The three congregations served by Tempelman were, according to the names of the elders, whom he mentions, Heller's Church, in Upper Leacock Township; Cocalico, and Lancaster. That leaves for Miller Muddy Creek (where several baptisms by him are recorded in the Lutheran record), White Oak Church, and Seltenreich.

As early as 1732 Miller showed an inclination to the Seventh Day Dunkers. Boehm reports⁶ that at that time he went, with one of his elders,

⁵ Quoted in Muehlenberg's *Selbstbiographie*, Allentown, [1881], p. 213.

⁶ *Life of Boehm*, 254.

into the house of a Seventh Day Dunker, where they had their feet washed and allowed themselves to be called "Brethren." It was, therefore, not surprising, that, when Conrad Beisel, their leader, set out to win one of the Reformed preachers for his work, "aware of his own inability in view of the important work before him," he succeeded with Peter Miller. On the occasion of a visit to Tulpehocken, with several of his disciples, Beissel "was received by the teacher [Miller] and his elders with the consideration due to him as an ambassador of God" (*Ephrata Chronicle*, 71). The result of the visit of Beissel was that Miller, the schoolmaster, three elders, and various other households, determined to go over to the new faith.

Boehm, who was best informed regarding the events at Tulpehocken, has this to say:

"At that time Miller drew also Tulpehocken to himself. I warned them afterwards against this false spirit, but the misguided and simple-minded people clung to him, until finally the deception, with regard to which I had so faithfully warned them, came to light and this Miller went over publicly to the evil sect of the Seventh Day Tumplers and was baptized in Tumbler fashion [by trine immersion] at Conestoga in the month of April, 1735. He took with him about ten families, Lutheran and Reformed, from the congregation at Dolphhacken, who followed his example." The *Ephrata Chronicle* corrects the date and makes it "a Sabbath in May of the year 1735."

Miller himself in a later letter states:

"Having officiated among the Germans for several years, I quitted the ministry and returned to private life." According to Mr. Boehm he became an oil-miller.

To make his exit from the Reformed Church as dramatic as possible, Peter Miller, Michael Miller, Conrad Weiser, and Gottfried Fidler gathered one day in the house of Gottfried Fidler and there "they burnt the Reformed Catechism, the Lutheran Catechism, The Psalms of David, The Garden of Paradise [Paradies-Gärtlein], and the Exercises of Godliness [Uebung der Gottseligkeit], in all thirty-six books, in derision and disparagement, in the house of Gottfried Fidler."

As at that time the "solitary brethren" lived dispersed through the wilderness of Conestoga, Miller followed their example and "set up his hermitage in Tulpehocken, at the foot of a mountain, near a limpid spring." There he lived till November, 1735, when the cloister at Ephrata was opened and all the "solitary brethren" were called in. Miller then removed to Ephrata, where he spent the rest of his life as a monk behind cloister walls.

An excellent pen-sketch of Miller is given by the Rev. Israel

Acrelius, provost of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America, in his *History of New Sweden*. He made a visit to Ephrata on September 7, 1753, with his friend Peter Ross, and writes about it as follows:

"There was also a brother named Jabez⁷, who before his baptism was called Peter Müller. He had been a German Calvinist minister, came to this country, according to their custom, as a candidate for the ministry of the Reformed Church of the country, was afterwards ordained by the Presbyterian minister, Mr. Andrews, in Philadelphia, and for a long time [only four years!] preached in the various parts of the country before that, eighteen years since [i.e. in 1735], he betook himself to Ephrata. He is a learned man, understands Oriental languages, speaks Latin, discusses theological controversies as well as other sciences, although in his present condition he has forgotten much. He is of a good stature, with a friendly face and friendly manners, on which account strangers always get introduced to him and seek his society. He is open-hearted toward those to whom he takes a liking, and is modest and genial. The brethren have great respect for him and not without reason, for he is a prudent man, upon whom their order chiefly depends, although he gives himself no higher name than that of a single brother. In their Public Worship he reads the Scriptures and also baptizes when so directed by Father Friedsam."

Miller also assisted in the publication of numerous books that were issued from the Ephrata press, such as the translation of the "Mirror of Martyrs," the largest book that came from the colonial press, and especially the *Chronicon Ephratense*, published in 1786, which contains not only the biography of Conrad Beissel, the founder of the sect, but also the remarkable story of the unique institution, the Ephrata cloister.

Peter Miller died at Ephrata and is buried in the graveyard attached to the cloister. His tombstone bears a fast-fading inscription, which reads, translated into English:

"Here lies buried Peter Miller, born in the Oberamt Lautern, in the Palatinate. Came to America as a Reformed Preacher in the year 1730. He was baptized into the congregation at Ephrata in the year 1735 and was called Brother Jabez. Became afterwards their teacher until his end. Fell asleep the 25th of September 1796. His age 86 years and 9 months."

⁷ From I Chron. 4:9, and explained as "Borne with sorrow."

JOHN HENRY GOETSCHY (GOETSCHIUŠ)

1718-1774

John Henry Goetschy was the boy preacher of the early church, who, to add a few degrees to his importance, latinized his name to Geot-schius, although the records of his home town as well as he himself on ordinary occasions used the original form of the name, Goetschy.

His father, the Rev. Maurice Goetschy, born in 1686, entered the ministry in 1710. In the same year he married Esther Werndli. He became "Diakon," or assistant pastor, at Rheinegg in 1712, then pastor at Saletz in 1720, but was removed from the ministry, because of a serious moral lapse, in 1730. On October 4, 1734, he left Zurich with a colony of more than 250 emigrants, to go to Carolina. The journey of the colonists from Zurich to Basle and down the Rhine to Holland is described at length by one of the emigrants, Ludwig Weber, who returned to Zurich disappointed and wrote the account of their experiences as a warning to later emigrants. As it is one of the few accounts of a trip down the Rhine during the eighteenth century, a few details will be of interest.¹

The emigrants took a road northward from Zurich till they reached the Rhine at Laufenburg, where they boarded a ship to take them to Basle. There they had to wait until they secured a passport from the commanding general of the French army at Strassburg. It cost them 44 guilders, which some gentlemen at Basle paid for them. At Basle eighty refugees from Piedmont joined them, while some of their own number left them to undertake the journey to Holland on foot. As a result, the main party consisted now of 194 persons, who embarked on two ships. They suffered intensely, being but poorly protected against rain and cold. At night they saw the campfires of the Imperial troops on the east side of the river, and those of the French on the other side. They were afraid of attacks from either side. Hence they refrained from making a noise or kindling fire. At old Breisach all their chests were opened and examined. As the commander of the fort told them that the French were training their guns on them, they made off in haste. At Ketch, west of Heidelberg, the dragoons of the Imperial army stopped them and compelled them to get another passport from the Duke of Wurtemberg, the imperial

¹ The title of this pamphlet reads: *Der Hinckende Bott von Carolina, oder Ludwig Webers von Walliselen Beschreibung seiner Reise von Zürich gen Rotterdam, mit derjenigen Gesellschaft welche neulich aus dem Schweizerland nach Carolinam zu ziehen gedachte*, Zurich, MDCCXXXV, 32 p.

commander, which cost them thirty guilders and an extra payment of two ducats for each vessel.

At Mayence they were delayed four days, because they could not agree with the captain about the passage money to Rotterdam. It was finally fixed at 3 guilders for adults and half of that for children.

After leaving Mayence their journey was a little more tolerable, as they were allowed to cook on board the ships. When they reached Neuwied, four couples went ashore and were married by the Reformed pastor. One of the couples was John Conrad Wirtz and Anna Goetschy. The entries in the church record at Neuwied were found recently. They show that the marriages took place on October 28, 1734.

From Mayence their journey down the Rhine was uneventful until they reached Culenborg, in Holland. There they were delayed for four days because of contrary winds and were compelled to secure passage on another ship to take them to Rotterdam. There they were in bad straits until their case was presented to the Rev. Dr. Wilhelmi, who had repeatedly shown his interest in the cause of the Palatines. He persuaded them to go to The Hague and apply to Mr. Felss, probably the Prime Minister at that time. According to a letter of Maurice Goetschy, they were kindly received by Mr. Felss, who promised Goetschy a position as minister in Pennsylvania, with an ample salary of 2000 thaler, if they would change their destination from Carolina to Pennsylvania. Most of the emigrants agreed to this proposal, when it was laid before them. As a result, 143 persons signed their names for passage to Philadelphia. They agreed with the owner of their ship to pay six doubloons for every adult and three for every child.²

When the company reached Philadelphia, on May 29, 1735, on the ship "Mercury," William Wilson, master, Rev. Maurice Goetschy was so sick that he had to be carried ashore. He died on the following day and his funeral took place on the third day following in the "principal English Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia."

Maurice Goetschy left behind him a wife, Esther, and eight children, of whom John Henry, then 17 years of age, was the oldest son. He was born March 8, 1718, probably at Rheinegg, where his father had been assistant pastor at that time. On March 23, 1734, young John Henry entered the Latin School at Zurich, but before he had spent half a year at school, his father, with his whole family, left for Pennsylvania.

After his arrival at Philadelphia, John Henry continues the story of his first experiences in the New World in a letter, written on July 21, 1735, to Mr. Werdmueller, the assistant pastor at St. Peter's Church in

² For a more extensive account of this journey see the writer's *History of the Goshenhoppen Reformed Charge, 1727-1835*, (Lancaster, 1920), 96-110.

Zurich. He writes:³

"When I showed my testimonials and the people saw that I had been engaged in study, they almost compelled me to take charge of the congregations, as well as I could. Hence, through the goodness of God, I preach twice every Sunday and teach two catechetical lessons. For this I make use of the books which I brought with me, and through good diligence I am enabled, thank God, to perform this in such a way that each and every person is satisfied with me. Now the first Sunday I preach in Philadelphia; both in the forenoon and afternoon I always conduct catechetical instruction. On the second Sunday in Schippach, which is a very large congregation, a sermon and catechetical instruction in the forenoon. In the afternoon at Old Goshenhoppen, two hours [six miles] from Schippach, a sermon and catechetical instruction. It is a pretty large congregation,⁴ as large as any in the canton of Zurich. On the third Sunday I preach in New Goshenhoppen and have catechetical instruction there in the forenoon. In the afternoon at Great Swamp, which is also one of the large congregations. All this I can do through the strength given me by God's spirit, to the great satisfaction of the people. I expect to be consecrated next Christmas by the English Presbyterians, in order that I may be able to administer the communion, unite people in marriage and baptize children."

In order to prepare himself for the next important step in his life, the ordination, Mr. Goetschy wrote to John Lavater, Professor of Latin and Greek in the "*Collegium humanitatis*" at Zurich, on September 26, 1735, asking him for a certificate of his work and conduct while at that school. The certificate was granted to him, on May 28, 1736. It testified to the fact, that after having been instructed by his father in the fundamentals of the arts and ancient languages, he had entered the Latin School and had spent there a year, and that he had been "faithful and diligent in his studies, upright in his life and morals, modest and pious in conduct."

But his expectation to be ordained by the Presbyterians in the near future was not realized. On May 27, 1737, a letter was laid before the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia, "from Mr. Henricus Goetschius, signifying his desire and the desire of many people of the German nation, that he might be ordained by the order of the Synod." The matter was turned over to the Presbytery of Philadelphia, "to act upon further trials of him, with respect to his ordination as to them should seem fit."

³ The original is in the city library at Zurich.

⁴ This statement is most likely an exaggeration. As late as 1760, Michael Weiss could report only 30 families at Old Goshenhoppen.

The Presbytery met on the same day and took up the matter referred to it by Synod. They agreed to meet on the following day, in Mr. Andrews' chambers, "to take up his trial and then conclude upon what is further to be done in this affair."

On the next day, after an exegesis had been read by Mr. Goetschius on the article of justification, and after they had further examined him as to his qualifications, they "unanimously came to the conclusion, that tho' he appeared well skilled in the learned languages, yet inasmuch as they found him altogether ignorant in college learning and but poorly read in Divinity, his ordination to the ministry must at present be deferred." They advised him "to put himself under the tuition and care of some minister for some competent time." Meanwhile they agreed, "considering the necessitous condition of the people, to give him a temporary license to preach, as he had done for some time past."⁵

The presence of Goetschy in the Goshenhoppen region soon made itself felt in important moves by the people. At Old Goshhoppem the church land, consisting of 38¼ acres was surveyed on January 26, 1737, and a patent for the land was secured on February 7, 1737.

At Great Swamp a warrant was taken out on May 23, 1738, and on September 27, 1738, there was surveyed to Michael and Joseph Everhart a tract of land now in Lower Milford Township, formerly in Bucks now in Lehigh County, containing 113 acres and 17 perches, "in trust for minister, elders and congregation for the time being said Reformed Calvinist congregation."

At New Goshenhoppen John Henry Sproegel had donated a tract in Upper Hanover Township, containing about fifty acres and 26 perches. Unfortunately he died before he issued a deed, which involved the congregation in a long litigation.

We learn more about the activity of Goetschy from the title page of the New Goshenhoppen record, which he wrote about 1738. On this title page he states that he preached at Skippack, Old and New Goshenhoppen, Great Swamp, Saucon, Egypt, Maxatawny, Mosellem, Oly, Bern, and Tulpehocken. In four of these places records were begun by him, or at least contain some of his entries.

At Great Swamp he opened a church record on April 24, 1736, by writing a title page and a brief but comprehensive constitution for the congregation. He recorded fourteen baptisms, the last on February 28, 1738.

At Egypt, he wrote the title page of the church record on March 22, 1739, with a Greek motto: "Write everything plainly." Only three baptisms, all of them in 1739, were entered by him in that record.

⁵ MS. *Minutes of Philadelphia Presbytery*, III, 1733-1784, in the Presbyterian Historical Society at Philadelphia.

At Bern, in Berks County, a church record was begun by Goetschy on March 24, 1739. Altogether fifteen baptisms were entered by him at Bern, from April, 1738, to November, 1739; and eleven others, from March 1, 1740, to August 20, 1740.

Mr. Goetschy came into conflict with Mr. Boehm not only by preaching in congregations which Boehm considered as his own (because he had founded them), but also because he circulated a forged letter of Dr. Wilhelmi, of Rotterdam, in which the Reformed congregations were advised "that, in order to remove the present and future quarrels, you have the divine right, given to you by God in Christ Jesus, which you can and must use, to elect on your own responsibility a minister according to the Word of God and the church order." In other words, this so-called letter of Wilhelmi tried to make the Reformed people of Pennsylvania believe that, though they could have the help and advice of the Holland Fathers, they need not pay an attention to their advice. Boehm regarded this letter as one of the main obstacles to his ministry, because he tried everywhere and at all times to get the people to submit to the direction of the Church of Holland. To get help from Holland meant necessarily to accept their advice and guidance.

That such was really the attitude of the Holland Church appears clearly from a letter of Rev. P. H. Dorsius, dated December 6, 1739, which he wrote to Mr. Boehm, asking him to inquire how much each congregation was willing to contribute to a minister's salary. In this letter he informed Boehm that the Christian Synods of Holland were "greatly interested in the advancement of the Christian Reformed religion in Pennsylvania, and have offered assistance to that end, *provided* that every congregation submit to their wise counsel; to which must be added, that they expect all the Reformed congregations, out of respect to the Christian Synods, that they will refuse to hear the unordained ministers and hirelings, and refuse to accept them for administration of the holy sacraments, etc., among whom are included the young Goetschy and Van Basten, who while students presume to do everything that belongs to a minister."

As a result of this clear demand of the Holland Synods, Goetschy gave up his preaching to the German congregations, studied for one year under Dorsius, and then, on April 7, 1741, was ordained by Dorsius, with the assistance of the Revs. Theodore Frelinghuysen and Gilbert Tenent, as a minister for Long Island. Sometime before, on February 21, 1740, he had met Mr. Boehm, and in the presence of Mr. Dorsius asked his forgiveness of all the wrongs committed against him, and "promised to live according to church order," a promise which Goetschy again failed to keep.

In October, 1740, the Dutch Reformed congregations of Newtown, Hempstead, and Oyster Bay had extended a call to Goetschy, which he accepted. He moved into his new field of labor in the course of the following year. But his ordination, which would have been all right under congregational church law, could not be recognized under Reformed law and custom. Hence, before he was accepted as a member of the Dutch Coetus of New York, he had to submit to another ordination in the year 1748. In the year 1743 he published a Dutch sermon on the "Unknown God," which he had preached in several Dutch churches in 1742.

After a long and successful ministry of thirty-four years in the Dutch Reformed Church, he died at Schraalenberg, New Jersey, on November 14, 1774.

JOHN JACOB HOCK

Preacher at Lancaster, 1736-37.

John Jacob Hock is one of the independent Reformed ministers about whom very little is known. We do not know when and where he was born, or what became of him after his short ministry of about two years at Lancaster. He arrived on the ship "Mortonhouse" at Philadelphia on August 24, 1728.

John Jacob Hock of Lancaster appears for the first time in a letter written by Conrad Tempelman to the Synods of South and North Holland, on February 13, 1733, from Conestoga in Lancaster county¹. In it Tempelman describes the origin of the Reformed Church in "Chanastoka," in 1725, with "a small gathering in houses here and there, with the reading of a sermon and with hymns and prayers, according to their High German Church Order, on all Sundays and holidays, but on account of the lack of a minister without the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper."

The first services were held at a place, called Hill Church by Mr. Boehm, now Heller's church in Upper Leacock Township. Then Tempelman goes on to describe the ministry of Boehm at Conestoga, beginning with a communion service on October 14, 1727, when 59 members communed. Shortly afterwards Weiss took the congregation away from Boehm, 1727-29. After his ordination in New York in November, 1729, Boehm visited Conestoga again on May 30, 1730. He then told them about his ordination and the constitution which his congregations in Montgomery County had accepted. The members at Hill Church expressed their

¹ *Life of Boehm*, 62.

readiness to accept this constitution and thereby place themselves under the care of the Church of Holland.

By 1733, when Tempelman wrote his letter, the settlements in the Conestoga Valley had increased to such an extent that a division of the district into a number of preaching places had become necessary. He reports "that the congregation, on account of its enlargement and the great distances between the members divided itself into six preaching places in Chanastoka, whereof three places are served by a Reformed minister, John Peter Müller, by name, by whom also another strong congregation is served about 7 hours [21 miles] distant, called Dalbenhaken" [Tulpehocken].

About the congregations of Miller the writer can give no report, but of the congregations served by Tempelman he reports the number of their members and the names of their elders. They were:

The first congregation: 55 members. Their elders: Rudolf Heller, Michael Albert and Andries ———.

The second: 51 members. Their elders: Hans Georg Schwab, Johannes Goehr and Conrad Werns.

The third: 30 members. Elders: Johann Jacob Hock, Andries Halsbrun and Nicolaus ———.

The first of these preaching places is identical with the Hill Church of Mr. Boehm, or Heller's Church. Michael Albert is given by Boehm as one of the elders of this church in 1740,² while two other elders of the Hill church, Michael Weidler and John Leyn, were the persons to whom the Hill Church land, "on which the church now stands," was deeded in 1743. They also represent the delegates from the Conestoga Church at the meetings of the Coetus in 1747 and 1748³.

The second preaching place is identical with Cocalico, formerly near, now at, Ephrata. The names of Conrad Werns and Johannes Gehr are found in the Cocalico Church record.

The third preaching place represents the present First Reformed Church in Lancaster. The elder, John Jacob Hock, is identical with the first pastor in 1736. The third name, Nicolaus ———, is probably identical with Niclaus Trebër, who appears as elder in 1740.

The oldest Reformed church record at Lancaster begins with this important statement:

"CHURCH PROTOCOL of the newly built Reformed church here in the island of Pennsylvania, in Cannastocken, in the new town named Lengester [Lancaster], in which protocol is found the beginning of this

² See *Life of Boehm*, 291.

³ Michael Weidler is buried in the cemetery of Heller's Church.

church building. There is also to be found in this protocol which and how many children have been incorporated into Jesus Christ through the sacrament of Baptism, to which are added the names of the parents and the sponsors. Now the beginning of this our church building was made in the year 1736. And, through the help of God the building was so far completed that on the 20th of June, or upon the festival of Holy Pentecost, we held divine worship in it for the first time. The teacher, preacher, or pastor was the honorable and virtuous Mr. Johann Jacob Hock. As his introductory words [reading lesson] he chose, under the guidance of the Spirit of God, the words of the prophecy of Isaiah, in the 35th chapter, the first verse: 'The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them and the desert shall blossom as the lily' [so Luther's text]. The text itself was from the 103rd Psalm, the latter part of the fourth verse: 'Who crownest thee with lovingkindness and tender mercies.'

"As regards the election of the first elders or directors of the congregation, John Henry Baasler, Felix Mueller, John Gorner, and Peter Doerr were elected by the congregation and declared duly qualified. It was also resolved that two should withdraw annually and that two others should be elected in place of them. Accordingly, at the end of the first year, Henry Baasler and Peter Doerr retired, and Peter Balsspach and Frederick Strubel were elected in their places. . . . The first deacons elected were John Karl Keller and John Stepan Rammersberger."

On the same date, June 20, 1736, six children were baptized by the pastor. From that date to August 8, 1737, he entered thirty-four baptisms, followed by two others entered by an untrained hand. On April 22, 1739, the baptisms of his successor, the Rev. John Bartholomew Rieger, begin.

This is all that we know about John Jacob Hock. He may have died shortly after June 1737, or he may have moved away with his family. Against the latter supposition is the fact that a letter from the Lancaster congregation, dated November 10, 1745, contains the signatures of 61 members, among whom are: George Hock, Andrew Hock, and Jacob Hock. The last of these signatures is not identical with that in the church record. They may have been the pastor's sons. No will of Jacob Hock is recorded at Lancaster. In the will of Peter Balsspach (one of the elders under Hock), drawn June 1, 1748, "Jacobus Hooch" is named as executor. As the will was written by an English scrivener, the variant spelling of the name could easily occur. (The will is on record in the Lancaster court house).

Thus, after all these years, John Jacob Hock is still, like Melchizedek, without father and mother, without beginning and end of days.

JOHN HENRY ANTES

John Henry Antes occupied a prominent place in the Union Conferences, held under the auspices of Count Zinzendorf in Pennsylvania in 1742. Antes was one of the originators of the union movement.

John Henry Antes was born July 11 and baptized July 17, 1701, at Freinsheim, in the Palatinate. His father was Philip Frederick Antes and his mother Anna Catharine. They had six children, (duly recorded in the church record at Freinsheim, begun in 1699), of whom John Henry was the eldest.

Frederick Antes and his family came to Pennsylvania in 1721. On February 20, 1723, Frederick Antes, of Germantown, bought of Hendrick Van Bebber 154 acres, situate in Philadelphia County, for which he paid £38.5.0, Pennsylvania currency. The land was part of the Manatawny tract, in what is now New Hanover Township, Montgomery County. In 1728 Frederick Antes was one of the elders of the Falkner Swamp Church, who petitioned the Classis of Amsterdam for the ordination of Mr. Boehm. In November, 1729, he was one of three commissioners to be present at the ordination of Boehm in New York. According to the records of the First Presbyterian Church at Philadelphia, Frederick Antes was married, on April 9, 1742, to Elizabeth Nayman, who became his second wife. He was naturalized at a court held in Philadelphia, April 24, 1742. His will was made August 15, 1746, and was probated November 26, 1746, at Philadelphia.

His son, John Henry Antes, a millwright by trade, formed at an early date a partnership with William Dewees, of Germantown. With him he engaged in the construction and running of a paper-mill and a grist-mill on the Wissahickon. In the family of his partner he found his wife. On February 2, 1726, he was married to Christina Elizabetha De Wees, by his pastor, the Rev. John Philip Boehm. On September 2, 1735, he bought 175 acres of land in Frederick Township. This became his permanent home and by it he was known as the "pious Reformed man of Frederick Township."

The year 1736 marked the beginning of Henry Ante's missionary activity. In the record of the Oley Church, now at Bethlehem, we find the following statement:

"In the year 1736, Henry Antes came to Oley and preached there with blessing. He found an entrance there and several were touched by the truth. The people expressed a great desire to hear his sermons, for

which reason he visited this place faithfully. There were at that time all kinds of spirits in Oley, of which the Newborn were the dominant party. Dear Antes was not equal to them. He waited, therefore, for the time when the Lord himself would check them, which took place in the following manner. In the year 1737 our dear and reverend brother Spangenberg had come to Georgia and from there had traveled to Pennsylvania, which he reached in that year. He stayed for a little while at Skippack, where he heard of the work of the dear brother, Henry Antes. He then resolved to visit Oley, and came there, in the year 1737, accompanied by the sainted Wiegner. He was the first [Moravian] brother who came to Oley and there he gave such testimony regarding the meritorious death of Christ, with such a demonstration of the Spirit, that the power of darkness received a severe blow. His first sermon was delivered in the house of Jonathan Herbein and the second in the house of Abraham Bertholet. He attacked the Newborn in his discourse from the words of I John 1:7, 8, 9. Through this address the spirit of the Newborn was so broken, that it could not gain strength again and is daily becoming weaker."

In the year 1737 an estrangement arose between Henry Antes and his pastor, John Philip Boehm. The exact cause is at present unknown. Boehm states in his *Letter of Warning* that Antes separated from the congregation of Falkner Swamp "several years ago because of altogether reprehensible reasons." John Adam Gruber declares that Antes, "who from the time of Spangenberg had been awakened, saw the decay of the Reformed party and testified regarding it, for which reason he had to suffer sore trials from his brethren in the church and from his teacher."¹ A third witness, John Antes, a son of John Henry, states in his autobiography that "Antes rebuked the stationed minister of this district for his unbecoming behaviour, on which account he refused to baptize me."² It is, therefore, probable that the association of Antes with Spangenberg had something to do with the break in their friendship.

During the stay of Joseph Spangenberg in Pennsylvania, September, 1737, to August, 1739, he gathered many like-minded persons around him and held with them weekly prayer-meetings. After his return to Europe, "some friends who through friendship with him had become better acquainted with each other and had expressed themselves more fully towards each other, met frequently, sometimes here, sometimes there, in order to learn to know and comprehend God more fully. This continued with considerable blessing for two years."³ The headquarters of these meet-

¹ See Fresenius, *Nachrichten*, III, 135.

² Quoted by Dotterer in his article on "John Antes," in the *Perkiomen Region, Past and Present*, I, 92.

³ Fresenius *Nachrichten*, III, 127f.

ings was the house of Christopher Wiegner at Skippack. They were known in the neighborhood as "The Associated Brethren of Skippack."

When, in the spring of 1740, Peter Boehler and a number of other Moravians came to Pennsylvania, Antes acted as guide to take them to what is now Nazareth, in Northampton County, where they contracted with Whitefield to erect a school for negroes on his land. Soon warm friendship arose between Antes and the Moravians and, "since Oley was lying upon his heart, as his special field, he brought Brother Boehler to Oley and, as some say, also Andrew Eschenbach, in the spring of 1740."⁴ As Eschenbach did not arrive in Pennsylvania till October 1740, the date "spring of 1740" can refer only to Peter Boehler.

In the spring of 1740 George Whitefield conducted his remarkable and memorable revival meetings in Pennsylvania, which brought him in contact with Henry Antes and the Germans in Skippack and in Frederick Township. Whitefield's companion and financial backer, William Seward, has left in his diary the following account of these meetings:

"April 24, [1740]. Rose at five, wrote my Journal and dispatched several letters to Georgia. Came to Christopher Wiegner's plantation in Skippack, where many Dutch [German] people settled, and where the famous Mr. Spangenberg resided lately. It was surprising to see such a multitude of people gathered together in such a wilderness country, thirty miles distant from Philadelphia. Nothing but the mighty Power of God could effect this. Our brother [Whitefield] was exceedingly carried out in his Sermon, to press poor sinners to come to Christ by Faith, and claim all their privileges, viz., not only Righteousness and Peace, but Joy in the Holy Ghost; and after he had done, our dear Friend Peter Boehler preached in Dutch [German] to those who could not understand our Brother in English. Came to Henry Antis's Plantation in Frederick Township, Ten Miles farther in the Country, where was also a Multitude equally surprising with what we had in the Morning, and our Brother was Equally carried out to press poor Sinners to know God, and Jesus Christ whom God hath sent.

"There was much melting under both Sermons, but my Heart was too hard, which I was drawn to complain to my dear Jesus, whose blood and nothing less can soften it, and forever blessed be his name, he heard my Prayers, and spoke Peace to my troubled soul.

"At night I was drawn to sing and pray with our Brethren in the Fields. Brother Whitefield was very weak in Body, but the Lord Jehovah was his Strength, and did indeed magnify the same in his weakness, for I never heard him speak more clear and powerful.

⁴ Quoted from the Oley Church record, in Bethlehem archives.

"They were Germans where we dined and supp'd, and they prayed and sung in Dutch, as we did in English before and after Eating."⁵

When Zinzendorf came to Pennsylvania in December, 1741, Henry Antes conferred with him about holding conferences of the various German religious bodies. As a result, on December 15, 1741, Antes issued a call for a "general meeting" of all Germans to be held on New Year's day of 1742, at Germantown. Zinzendorf himself claimed later that the idea of such a conference did not originate with him. He wrote: "I was neither the author of these meetings, which were called by the Pennsylvanians, who had become tired of their own ways. What the object of their meetings may have been I am not able to determine. I should think that every deputy had his own instructions.⁶ What my ultimate object was I know well enough, and have not for a moment endeavored to conceal. I wished to make use of this opportunity to enthrone the Lamb as the real Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of the whole world, and at the same time introduce in theory and practice the catholicity of the doctrine of his passion, as the universal theology for the German Pennsylvanians."⁷

Antes presided at the first conference, and took a prominent part in all the later meetings. At the last conference he was commissioned to prepare a circular to the Germans, asking them to join the "Congregation of God in the Spirit."

In the summer of 1742 Antes was again sent to Oley, after Eschenbach, who had preached there for a while, had been directed to go to Conestoga. Gruber reports that Antes received a written call from Oley at this time, in which he was asked to preach to them every two weeks⁸. At this time he told them publicly that he was a Reformed preacher.

After the year 1742 Antes withdrew from his missionary activity, but became active in the secular affairs of the Moravian settlements at Bethlehem and Nazareth. When the fifteenth Pennsylvania Synod was held in his house in Frederick Township, in March, 1745, he offered the use of his plantation and house to the Brethren for a boarding school for boys. The school was opened in June, 1745, and was maintained till 1750, when it was transferred to Oley. Upon the opening of the school, Antes and his family—except two of his sons who remained as pupils of the school—moved to Bethlehem. There he had charge of the construction of mills, bridges, dams, and houses for the Brethren. On October

⁵ See Seward's *Journal of a voyage from Savannah to Philadelphia*, London, 1740.

⁶ Antes states in his call: "It had been under consideration for two years and more."

⁷ Zinzendorf, *Naturelle Reflexionen*, 194f.

⁸ Fresenius, *Nachrichten*, III, 187.

27, 1748, he was appointed General Business Manager for the Brethren taking care of their extensive properties.

In April, 1750, Antes returned to his farm in Frederick Township. His withdrawal was due to the introduction of white robes, or surplices, then worn by Moravian ministers at the celebration of the Eucharist. Of this he disapproved as smacking of Catholicism. Dr. Harbaugh quotes Antes as saying: "They introduced the mass-robes when they celebrated the communion." Nevertheless, he remained on friendly terms with the Moravians. When he died, on July 20, 1755, and was buried on his farm, a number of Moravian Brethren were present at his funeral, and Bishop Spangenberg bore public testimony, in the course of the funeral services, "to the Christian worth of the pious layman of Frederick Township."⁹ His tombstone bears a fitting German inscription, which may be rendered into English as follows:

Here rests
HENRY ANTES
An ornament of this Land;
An upright, fearless
Administrator of Justice
And a faithful Servant
Before the World's and God's People.
Fell asleep
In Frederick-Town, July 20,
1755
Aged 54 years.

PETER HENRY DORSIUS

1711-1757

Peter Henry Dorsius was until recently a shadowy figure, whose name appeared but once in the Egypt Church record, as having baptized there several children on November 22, 1740. He is called "Herr Inspector Torschius." For many years that was all that was known about him to the historians of the German Reformed Church.

It was not till 1897, when the archives of Holland became accessible, that new facts regarding him came to light. The first record to shed light on his career was the matriculation book of the University of Leyden, in Holland. On September 17, 1736, Dorsius himself made this entry in this book: "Petrus Henricus Dorsius, Meursanus, 25, T." This

⁹ See Reichel, *Memorials*, 17, n.

meant that, when Dorsius entered the university on the date given as a student of theology, he was twenty-five years of age and gave his home as Meurs, now spelled Moers, a town of about 5,000 inhabitants near the lower Rhine, in the district of Duesseldorf. A letter addressed to the pastor of the Evangelical Church at Moers, the Rev. W. Rotscheid, soon brought the following information:

Peter Henry Dorsius was the son of John Henry Dorsius. The latter first appears in the record on September 15, 1708, as a widower at Meurs, who married Petronella Gravers, of Altkirch. The couple had five children, of whom Peter Henry was the second; baptized on January 2, 1711. While his younger brother, Isaac (born 1713), entered the Gymnasium (or college) of his native town May 5, 1727, the name of Peter cannot be found, which means that he secured his classical education elsewhere.

On October 31, 1735, the Rev. John Wilhelmus of Rotterdam, the well-known friend of the Palatines, had an interview in his home with a delegation of the Deputies of the Synods of South and North Holland, at which he informed them that at the request of the (Dutch) Reformed people of Neshaminy (or Southampton) in Pennsylvania, he had secured "a pious young man," who was willing to go to Pennsylvania. He was studying at that time in the University of Groningen, where he had matriculated April 5, 1734. Professors Driessen and Van Velsen of the university gave laudatory testimonials regarding him and said he would probably be ready the following spring to go to Pennsylvania. This "pious young man" was Peter Henry Dorsius. But, instead of going to Pennsylvania in 1736, he transferred to the University of Leyden to finish his studies there. He matriculated at Leyden, as already stated, on September 17, 1736.

At the meeting of the Deputies on March 11-14, 1737, Wilhelmus reported that Dorsius was about to be examined and would soon leave for Pennsylvania. He suggested that Dorsius was the proper person through whom they could secure reliable information regarding the condition of the Reformed churches in Pennsylvania. On June 11, 1737, Dorsius himself appeared before the Deputies at The Hague. He announced that he was ready to leave for Pennsylvania on June 27th (old style), with Captain Stedman. He stated that he had accepted a call from the Dutch Reformed congregation in Bucks County, at a salary of £60, to which £20 might be added if a neighboring congregation could be persuaded to accept him as pastor. Dorsius asked the Deputies whether he could be of any service to them. In answer to that offer they requested him to give them a detailed report in answer to questions that would be sent to him.

The last events before his departure, his trip across the ocean, and

his first experiences in Pennsylvania are described by Dorsius in a letter which he wrote to the Deputies in June, 1749. He wrote in part as follows:

"It is about twelve years ago after that I had been received by the Classis of Schieland, on April 30, 1737, as a candidate of theology and on May 29th of the same year had been ordained by the faculty of Groningen, as a minister of the Gospel, that on July 11th I undertook the great and dangerous journey from Rotterdam to Pennsylvania, when we did not arrive safely at Philadelphia till October 5th, with the loss, however, of many persons, who had died at sea and had been buried in the great ocean. There I inquired immediately after my location, when I learned right at the beginning, that I as well as others had been grievously deceived in my expectations, being compelled to preach for one year in the barn of one farmer after another, because there was no house of God. At the same time I had to take lodging with one family after another in the backwoods (*bosch*), as they are accustomed to call them in that land. This made me think of returning speedily (to Holland), but was kept back by my conscience and the example of the early Christians. Through the encouraging and cheering letters of the Reverend Ernest Engelbert Probsting, p.t. Clerk of the Synod, written to me in the name and by the order of the Deputies of both Synods, I was much strengthened to continue the difficult work of the ministry I had undertaken."

True to their word, the Dutch people of Neshaminy paid the passage money of their newly-arrived minister, on September 28, 1737, only two days after his arrival; it amounted to £26.15.2, for which Dorsius gave them a receipt on the same day. Shortly after his arrival his parishioners earnestly set to work to build a church. From several papers still preserved it appears that the building operations extended from April, 1738, to March, 1739. They also took steps to secure a glebe, or church farm. In January, 1739, two of the elders agreed to buy 96 acres of land for £245, "lying in Byberry, in the county of Philadelphia."

On March 1, 1738, Dorsius sent his first report regarding the Pennsylvania churches to the Deputies. It is a surprisingly inaccurate and misleading statement. He wrote about Philadelphia that it had no Reformed minister and was not able to support one. We know, however, that John Philip Boehm was its pastor, who preached there once a month. About Germantown he reported that there was a fine (Reformed) church, but they had a miserable preacher, who was inclined to the Quakers. This must refer to John Bechtel, but that he had Quaker inclinations is entirely without foundation. Regarding Conestoga he wrote, that two uneducated laymen were preaching there, whom the people refused to hear any longer, because they were teaching Quaker doctrines. These

laymen were John Conrad Tempelman and John Jacob Hock, but they neither were unacceptable to the people, nor were they teaching Quaker doctrines. Peter Miller, he reported, had fallen away from the Reformed faith and had carried with him 300 persons to the Dunker faith. This was grossly exaggerated, as Boehm, who knew Conestoga from personal visits, reports only ten families who had gone over to the Dunkers. All this misinformation was apparently based on gossip, as Dorsius himself had had no time to get into personal touch with the Reformed congregations and leaders. Mr. Boehm, the most important Reformed preacher, was passed over with silence, which may have been intentional, as Boehm himself refers to the arrival of Dorsius in a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, dated March 10, 1738: "Last fall Do. Dorsius arrived as the regular minister of the Low Dutch congregation at Neshaminy, Bucks County."

Apparently the Deputies were not satisfied with this first report of Dorsius. In June, 1738, they sent a definite set of questions, which they asked him to answer. When Dorsius found himself unable to answer them, he invited Mr. Boehm to a conference at his home. This conference took place on November 28, 1738, when "his Reverence showed me his letters from the Christian synods, in which I saw that these Christian Synods had appointed his Reverence as their commissioner and inspector of the German churches in Pennsylvania. Then his Reverence requested me to make a report, which I was ready to do out of respect to the Christian synods. The questions to be answered were as follows:

"1. How many German Reformed congregations were there in Pennsylvania; how far were they from each other?

"2. How many elders, deacons, and communicants were there in each of his congregations, and how were they served by him?

3. How was each congregation supplied with schoolmasters and precentors?"

It is strange that Mr. Boehm inferred from the letters Dorsius laid before him that Dorsius had been appointed Inspector of the German Reformed churches in Pennsylvania. Dorsius did sign his letters with that title, but, as we have shown above, he came to Pennsylvania in answer to a call of the Neshaminy Church, conveyed to him through Dr. John Wilhelmius; the Deputies of the Synods had nothing to do with it. They neither examined nor ordained him to his work, nor could they have appointed him "inspector," because the Church Order of Dort, under which they operated, recognizes no such office. The Deputies of the Synods had merely asked Dorsius to secure for them some information about Pennsylvania. That was the extent of his contact with them. The whole question is definitely set at rest in a letter written by the Classis of Amsterdam to Mr. Boehm, dated May 9, 1743: "This is certain, he is

no inspector of the church in our region."

True to his promise Mr. Boehm set to work at once and on January 14, 1739, finished an elaborate report about nine congregations; their members, elders, church buildings, and schoolmasters. In December, 1739, Dorsius sent Mr. Boehm a supplemental question, which he had received from the Deputies, "what each family is willing to contribute to the support of a minister, within the congregation, or to a yearly salary."

In order to be able to answer this question Mr. Boehm set out in the depth of a severe winter and made a long and difficult journey of about 300 miles on horseback. He visited the Reformed congregations in January, February, and March, 1740. As a result he was able to report that seventeen congregations had subscribed a total of £123 and 165 bushels of oats. He made also an additional report, in which he showed how these congregations might be combined into charges and served by six ministers.

On the basis of these reports of Boehm, which were in German, Dorsius wrote a report of his own in Dutch, dated March 4, 1740, in which he gave an abstract of Boehm's lengthier statement, without, however in any way disclosing that he was dependent on Boehm report, thus giving the Deputies the impression that he (Dorsius) had gathered all this information. The Deputies were glad to receive his report and gave him a vote of thanks, but Mr. Boehm's work did not get the deserved recognition.

When Boehm heard of the action of Dorsius in keeping his (Boehm's) report in his hands and sending another report to the Deputies, he was much displeased, and justly so. In July, 1741, Boehm wrote to the Holland Fathers that, when he asked Dorsius whether the report had been sent over, "his Reverence answered: No, he had it in his trunk, but he had written to the Christian Synods with regard to those things. I did not like this, for I had been riding through the country about 300 miles in the severest winter season. We had some words between us; however nothing unseemly. Among other things, his Reverence remarked, the affair had been entrusted to him and he knew what to do. He kept the report for his own safety. To which I answered: 'To me it does not seem well that the light which makes clear the whole condition of our congregations to our devout Church Fathers, who manifest such a holy concern for our churches, should be seen by your Reverence only and kept in your trunk, and not be brought to those who desire to see it; for it seems to me that the report, together with your additional report, should have been sent to them.' " (*Life of Boehm*, 321.)

The result was that Mr. Boehm himself sent copies of his report to the Classis of Amsterdam as well as the Deputies of the Synods. Through

this as well as other unfriendly acts the friendship of Boehm and Dorsius was broken.

Since Dorsius had satisfied the Deputies with his report on the Pennsylvania churches, they thought that he might be the means of settling another important affair, the so-called Reiff case. Jacob Reiff had been in Holland, with Rev. George M. Weiss, in 1730 and 1731, and had collected a considerable sum, about 2,100 *fl.*, but for ten years had kept the money and failed to make a settlement. Hence, on May 3, 1739, Rev. E. E. Probsting, clerk of the Deputies, sent a letter to Dorsius, in which he gave him and Dr. Diemer of Philadelphia a power of attorney to prosecute Reiff and to bring the case to a settlement. The appointment was unfortunate, as Diemer was himself deeply involved in the case. The results are told by Diemer himself, in a letter which he wrote to the Deputies on November 18, 1742:

"I received in the year 1740 a letter which the Rev. Ernest Probsting, Deputy of the Reverend Synod, had written at Heusden, under date May 3, 1739, and I received besides, in December of the aforesaid year, a special letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania, dated April 15th, 1739, at The Hague, in which authority was given to Rev. Mr. Dorsius and myself to prosecute the still pending suit against Jacob Reiff, of Skippack, in Pennsylvania, in which an appeal was made by the Reverend Deputies to the Governor. Immediately on receipt of the letter aforesaid, I was informed that his Excellency, the Governor, had promised to assist us, but the circumstances of the war between the English and the Spanish crowns (1739–1743) have until now prevented such aid on account of many special engagements." In spite of this promise the effort to make a settlement proved futile and it was left to Mr. Schlatter to reach a settlement in 1746.

In September, 1743, the Deputies of the Synods were much surprised to hear that Dorsius had arrived in Holland. He had left New York on May 26, 1743, and had arrived at Amsterdam on July 14. Shortly afterwards he appeared before the Synod of North Holland, held at Hoorn July 26–27. He made a long report to Synod and was then turned over to the Deputies—the executive committee on foreign affairs. He appeared before them on September 17–19, at The Hague. They questioned him closely on a number of things. They inquired what he and Diemer had done about the Reiff case. He answered that he had seen Diemer repeatedly, but he did not seem to be in a hurry about it, and, as far as he knew, nothing had been accomplished. They also asked him why he had come to Holland. He replied that he wished to consult the Deputies about his work. He hoped to get their consent to leave his congregation, because they had cut down his salary from 68 to 40 pounds, which was

insufficient for him to live on. He then gave them a long report about the Reformed churches. He drew a very dark picture and thereby defeated his very purpose. He reported that the churches were constantly decreasing, and that he saw no hope for them unless the ministers were granted a sufficient salary. The result could have been foreseen. The Deputies concluded that they did not have sufficient light regarding the actual condition of the churches in Pennsylvania to act intelligently. They therefore addressed a letter to the ministers, elders, and Reformed churches, asking them to give to the authorities in Holland a definite and detailed account, signed by the various consistories, regarding their actual condition, so that they might be able to judge by what means they could best help them. They also inquired whether it would be possible for the Reformed churches to unite with the Scotch Synod, by which they meant the Presbyterian Synod of Pennsylvania. They addressed a letter to the Scotch Synod, dated September 20, 1743, which they handed to Dorsius to deliver. Before Dorsius left Holland the Deputies gave him £30 for traveling expenses and £20 to pay the freight on 120 German Bibles, which they had sent to Pennsylvania. They also permitted Dorsius to leave his congregation and to accept another call, or to start another congregation. Dorsius left Holland on October 19, 1743, old style, and arrived at Philadelphia, in good health, on January 16, 1744.

During the years immediately preceding his European trip, as well as in the year when it was completed, Dorsius had visited numerous Reformed congregations, preached to them, and administered the Lord's Supper. In one of his letters he reports "preaching free of charge, several times at Philadelphia, either in the Swedish Church, or in the meeting house hired at that time for the use of the German congregation. The New Goshenhoppen record indicates that he visited that congregation, preaching and baptizing children, on September 24, 1740, August 30, 1741, September 4, 1742, and May 5, 1744. The Egypt record shows that Dorsius visited Saucon on September 23, 1740; while the letters of Boehm establish his preaching at Germantown on Easter, 1744, at New Goshenhoppen on May 6, and at Conestoga on July 8, 1744. There is also a reference to a journey to the Minisink region. (*Life of Boehm*, p. 339.)

When Michael Schlatter arrived in Pennsylvania in 1746 to organize the Reformed churches, Dorsius received him at first in "friendly and fraternal manner," and offered to render him any possible assistance. But on January 19, 1747, he wrote Schlatter a letter, by which he informed him that neither he nor his consistory considered themselves under obligation to submit to an examination by Schlatter. His congregation had asked the Holland Church for a minister, but not for an examiner. In a postscript he added that a friendly visit by Schlatter would be welcome.

The truth of the matter was that Dorsius was in trouble and he did not want an outsider to interfere. But in May, 1748, two elders from Neshaminy came to see Schlatter in Philadelphia. However, they did not find him at home, as he had started on a journey to Virginia. But on June 23, 1748, Schlatter writes in his journal: "I went to Northampton (Bucks County), upon the earnest solicitations of the congregation, and preached to the Dutch congregation of Mr. Dorsius, for the first time, as well as I could in their language. My efforts to abate the strife existing between the minister and the congregation were fruitless, and as Mr. Dorsius continues in his purpose to go over to Holland, I promised to visit them once a month to preach to them on a weekday."

The climax of the trouble was reached in June, 1748, when the consistory at Neshaminy took action. They dismissed Dorsius as their minister and closed the church against him. On June 16, 1748, Derrick Hoogland, his father-in-law, published a statement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which described his downfall. He had taken to drink, had sold nearly all his household goods, and had abandoned his wife and three children. This public exposure made any further stay in Pennsylvania impossible. So, on August 4, 1748, Dorsius took ship for Dublin, Ireland. A storm forced the ship to enter the harbor of Belfast. There he found another vessel to take him to Rotterdam, where he landed on October 1, 1748. In Holland at first he assisted several sick ministers at Rotterdam and Maas Sluys. Later he became assistant to the minister of the Count of Isselstein. In May and July, 1749, he appeared before the Deputies and asked them for his dismissal to accept a call to D'Elmina, a seaport on the Gold Coast of Africa, to which the Directors of the West India Company had appointed him. The Deputies refused to confirm the call, telling him to secure first a letter of dismissal from his former congregation in Pennsylvania. In October, 1750, the Classis of Amsterdam informed the Deputies as to the facts in his case, and stated that his whereabouts were unknown. That ended the career of Dorsius in the Reformed Church.

His wife, Jane Hoogland, (whom he had married December 16, 1740), received for many years support from the Coetus of Pennsylvania. On April 26, 1753, the Coetus voted her £8, including £3 from the North Holland Synod. From that date to 1776 she was given a yearly donation by the Coetus. In 1757 she appears for the first time as "widow Dorsius," which implies that her husband must have died about that time. The failure of Dorsius was largely due to his bad temper, his indifference to his work, and his moral weakness. He was a pessimist, which appears from his first to his last report, and that attitude never leads to success.

BARTHOLOMEW ZUBERBUEHLER, SR.

1678-1738

A third Reformed settlement¹ in South Carolina was made in 1737, about one hundred miles up the Savannah River, opposite Fort Augusta, in what was called New Windsor Township. Its leaders were Captain John Tobler, of Herisau; David Zubly, of St. Gall; and the Rev. Bartholomew Zuberbuehler, of Teufen, in the canton of St. Gall. They left Switzerland in September, 1736. The colony is said to have consisted originally of ninety-nine persons, but when they reached Rotterdam their number had swelled to two hundred and fifty, most of whom were from the canton of Appenzell. After a sea-voyage of twelve weeks, during which their pastor, Mr. Zuberbuehler, preached six times,² they reached Charleston, South Carolina, in February, 1737. The Lutheran pastor at Ebenezer, Georgia, refers to them on April 29, 1737:

"From P. [Purysburg] I received a report through Mr. Z. [Zubly] that the Swiss who arrived of late intend to receive the people from their own canton only in their newly founded town. The place of their settlement is far up along the Savannah River, near a village inhabited by Indians and traders, called Savannah Town. They will very likely use up all their provisions before they reach it by water. With a boat, heavily laden, it will take them at least four weeks, as they must row against the stream."³

Again, on May 8, 1737, the Lutheran diarist states:

"Last night a large boat full of Switzers from the Canton of Appenzell, arrived here. They spent the night with us."⁴ Another boat load of Swiss from Purysburg passed Ebenezer on June 15, 1737. For some reason or other (perhaps because of ill-health), Mr. Zuberbuehler did not remain long with his people in the distant settlement, but returned to Purysburg in May, 1738. Under date May 2, 1738, the Lutheran pastor reports:

"The old Mr. Zoberbiller, a Reformed minister from Switzerland, has arrived in Purisburg and intends to remain here with his daughter.

¹ For the two earlier colonies see sketches of Joseph Bugnion and John Ulrich Giezendanner.

² Letter from Charleston to Zurich, Febr. 20, 1737, in City Lbr. at Zurich.

³ *Urtsperger Nachrichten*, I, 1037.

⁴ *op. cit.*, I, 1044.

On Sunday, Dom. Exaudi, he preached. The people quote many edifying sentences from his sermon. This minister belongs to New Windsor, near Savannah Town, where his son [Sebastian] has caused a town and the land belonging thereto to be laid out."

One of the Lutheran pastors, (Mr. Boltzius or Mr. Gronau) visited Zuberbuehler at Puryburg on July 11, 1738, and thus tells of his visit:

"In Purisburg I visited the Rev. Mr. Zoberbiller, who lay sick with the fever. My visit was very welcome to him, although I did not stay more than a quarter of an hour. His wife died a fortnight ago and his daughter eight days ago. His son is also sick. His eldest daughter, who lost her husband several months ago, is nursing both him and his sick son."¹

Shortly afterwards, in the fall of 1738, Mr. Zuberbuehler, Sr., died also. Nothing is known about this Reformed minister except what is stated in the two extracts from the Urlsperger Reports, until recent investigations, carried on by several Swiss pastors, under the supervision of Dr. Herman Escher, late librarian of the city library at Zurich, brought to light the main facts of his life in Switzerland.

He was born April 7, 1678, at Herisau, where his father, of the same name, was pastor from 1668 to 1682. The younger man was ordained in 1700. Then he became chaplain of a Swiss regiment in French service, stationed in Flanders. In 1708 he was elected pastor at Grub. While pastor there he married, February 12, 1706, Elizabeth Baer, daughter of a judge in Kesswyl. They had thirteen children, six of whom died in infancy. In 1726 he accepted a call to Teufen, where he remained till 1735, when he became involved in a political controversy, and was compelled to resign.

In September, 1736, he left Switzerland with his family. When they came to Rotterdam they joined other Swiss emigrants to South Carolina. After a wearisome journey of twelve weeks they reached Charleston. Unfortunately he died, after a short ministry, in the fall of 1738.²

JOHN ULRICH GIEZENDANNER (GIESSENDANNER), SR.

1660-1738

A second Reformed colony³ in South Carolina was settled along the upper course of the Edisto, or Ponpon, river. Under date July 26, 1735, the *South Carolina Gazette* states:

¹ *op. cit.*, I, 2385.

² *Appenzell Chronicle*, by Gabriel Walser, in the Cantonal Library at Trogen.

³ The first colony settled at Puryburg, see sketch of Rev. Joseph Bugnion.

"On Sunday last arrived two hundred Palatines; most of them being poor, they were obliged to sell themselves and their children for their passage (which is six pistoles² in gold per head) within a fortnight of their arrival, or else pay one pistole more to be carried to Philadelphia. The most of them were farmers and some tradesmen. About two hundred and twenty of the Switzers that have paid all their passages are now going up the Edisto to settle a township there; the government defrays them on their journey, provides them provisions for one year, and gives fifty acres a head. The quantity of corn bought for them has made the price rise from fifteen shillings, as it was last week, to twenty shillings."

The new township was called Orangeburg, in honor of the Prince of Orange. It was in form a parallelogram, fifteen miles long by five miles wide. This colony of 1735 was followed by still another in 1737. As these colonists had not brought a minister with them from Switzerland, they elected one of their number to serve them in this capacity. On December 7, 1737, the Lutheran pastor at Ebenezer writes:

"Giessendanner, a coppersmith and engraver, who came with the last colony of Swiss to Carolina, wrote me again a letter from Orangeburg, in which he reports that he had been called by the people there as their regular preacher, that he had accepted the call and was now attending to the duties of his office by preaching the Word of God and administering the holy sacraments. His congregation is much scattered and he is spending much time in visitation. He also reported that all kinds of religionists were among them, but that they were attached to him because they saw that he did not seek his own advantage."³

A pamphlet printed at Zurich in 1738 makes the following statement about him:⁴

"In Orangeburg a goldsmith, named Gietzendanner of Lichtensteig, had made himself minister. He preaches every Sunday in the open air, next to his little hut. The people bring children to him for baptism, who are up to nine years of age, and they come a distance of forty miles to hear his sermons."

According to the Reformed Church records of his native town,⁵ John Ulrich "Giezendanner" was born at Lichtensteig and was baptized there January 31, 1660. His father was Andrew Giezendanner, his mother Barbara, nee Steger. His father was a prominent citizen, for he became city treasurer and building inspector. His son, John Ulrich, married on November 9, 1698, Verena Scherer, widow of a former city treasurer, Hans

² A pistole was a Spanish gold piece, worth about four dollars.

³ *Urspurger Nachrichten*, I, 2174.

⁴ The pamphlet was written by Hans Wernhard Trachsler.

⁵ Letter of the Rev. K. Kambli, Lichtensteig, Sept. 7, 1906.

Heinrich Ambül, of Starkenbach. They had no children, at least none can be found in the records. He was a goldsmith by profession and a member of the City Council.

In course of time Giessendanner attached himself to the "Inspired." As a result he was compelled to leave his home. He went to Germany, where he roamed about restlessly for a number of years. For a time he was a teacher in the orphanage at Halle. From there he went to Marburg, where he matriculated in the University of Marburg on June 2, 1714, as "Johann Ulrich Giezendanner, von Lichtensteig in Toggenburg." There Prof. J. F. Hottinger befriended him and allowed him to preach for him, but when his connection with the "Inspired" became known, he was expelled. He then returned to Switzerland, where his wife died, and was buried December 20, 1736.

In 1737 he joined the second colony of 170 Swiss emigrants, who went to South Carolina and settled at Orangeburg in November, 1737.

On November 17, 1737, he married again in South Carolina. But he did not live long in his new home. He died towards the close of the following year, unable to withstand the malignant nature of the climate.

Sometime before his death he wrote to the Lutheran pastors at Ebenezer, asking them to take up his nephew, John Giessendanner, in order to instruct him in the Oriental languages, with the view to preparing him for the Gospel ministry, a request which the Lutheran pastors declined for lack of time. The entries in his church record, which is still in existence, end in the summer of 1738.

JOHN GIEZENDANNER (GIESSENDANNER)

The work of Mr. Giessendanner, Sr. was continued by his nephew, John Giessendanner, who like his uncle probably was born at Lichtensteig, Switzerland. He came with his uncle to South Carolina in 1737.

On March 6, 1743, the people of Orangeburg presented a petition to the Provincial Council, in which they make the following statement:

"Ye said petitioners humbly beg leave to acquaint your Excellency, that above five years ago, the German minister happening to die, Mr. John Gissendanner, by the consent and approbation of your said German petitioners went to Charleston with the intention to make his application to the Rev. Alexander Garden, Commissary, to admit him into holy orders, to preach in German to this township; and when the said Mr. John Gissendanner came to Charleston aforesaid, he accidentally met with one,

Major Christian Motte, who acquainted him that he ought not to trouble the said Rev. Alexander Garden with the affair, but to go with him to some certain gentlemen, who, if they found him sufficient, would directly give him orders according to his desire; upon which the said Mr. Giessendanner, being then a stranger to the English methods of proceeding in such cases, accompanied the said Major Christian Motte, and was by him introduced to an assembly of the Presbytery, who, after examination, presented him with orders to preach, which he has since done in German constantly for the space of five years to the inexpressible satisfaction of the congregation at Orangeburg.”¹

This important document proves that John Giessendanner was ordained by the Presbytery of South Carolina, which consisted at that time of five ministers.

A Lutheran periodical, *Acta-historico-ecclesiastica*,² states with reference to this incident:

“After the older Giessendanner had died at Orangeburg, the young Mr. Giessendanner has now become pastor among the Swiss living there. A subscription in money, amounting to nine guilders, has been collected for him in Switzerland, and has been sent to him, together with books.”³ The Lutheran pastors at Ebenezer acted as mediators in this transaction.

In 1741, Mr. Kieffer, the Lutheran diarist at Ebenezer, gives the following description of the conditions in the Orangeburg settlement:

“This town is in a worse condition than Purysburg. The people living there are almost all Germans. They are leading very sinful lives. Their lands are fertile, but as they are far removed from Charles-Town and have no communication with that city by water, they cannot convert their produce into money. On this account no money is found among them. There is on sign of piety among them. Between them and their minister [Giessendanner] there are constant quarrels. The money sent by several benefactors in Switzerland has safely reached them. He has sent me the address to Charlestown, to which I shall send the books intended for them.”

In 1743 the German settlers in Orangeburg were interfered with in their worship by another Swiss minister, Bartholomew Zuberbuehler, who tried to displace Giessendanner. As a result a petition, signed by about four score of the inhabitants of Orangeburg, was sent to the Governor and Provincial Assembly, complaining about these attacks upon their religious peace and asking for redress. Mr. Zuberbuehler was cited to appear before

¹ *Journal of the Provincial Council of South Carolina*, XI, 139–142; quoted in full by Bernheim, *History of the German settlements*, 113–116.

² *Acta-historico-ecclesiastica*, [Weimar, 1742], VI, 890.

³ *Urlsrufer Nachrichten*, II, 1079, (Aug. 13, 1741).

the Governor, who required him to desist from his interference, with the added threat of having half his salary taken away unless he complied with his promise of bringing more of his countrymen to the province.

This petition contradicts the hear-say statements of the Lutheran pastors. It assured the Council that for five years Geissendanner had preached constantly "to the inexpressible satisfaction of the congregation at Orangeburg."

About 1741 Giessendanner married Barbara Hug. One of his sons, Henry, born July 2, 1742, was still living when a census was taken in 1826. Giessendanner preached at Orangeburg and neighboring settlements from 1738 to 1749. Then he went to England, where he secured Episcopal ordination from Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London. On his return to South Carolina he continued his ministrations to his parishioners until his death, which took place at Orangeburg in 1761.¹

JOHN CHRISTIAN SEYFERT

This independent Reformed minister is one of whom but a few traces have been found. "Christian Seyfert" subscribed the oath of allegiance at Philadelphia on August 27, 1739, having arrived on the ship "Samuel," Hugh Percy, captain. In the captain's list his age is given as 42 years; hence he was born in 1697. With him came in the same ship John Daniel Bouton, who settled in Philadelphia and later became a leading elder in the Reformed Church there. Another was John Nicklas Mombauer, who settled at Goshenhoppen.

Seyfert owned a sermon book of Dr. Conrad Mel,² now preserved in the library of the Schwenkfelder Historical Society, at Perkiomen Semi-

¹ Strange to say, Lutheran historians have claimed the Giessendanners as Lutheran ministers, but this claim is poorly supported, because: (1) The Giessendanners were Swiss, born and reared in the Reformed Church, as the church records of Lichtensteig, in Switzerland, show. (And so were most of their fellow countrymen.) (2) The older Giessendanner studied at the Reformed University of Marburg, where Prof. J. J. Hottinger, a Reformed theologian, befriended him. (3) When they came to South Carolina, they named their settlement after a Reformed prince, the Prince of Orange. (4) They received support from Switzerland, while the Lutheran pastors got their support from Augsburg, Germany. (5) The Lutheran pastors at Ebenezer did not recognize the Giessendanners as Lutheran. (6) The younger Giessendanner accepted ordination from the Presbytery of Georgia, which a Lutheran would not have done. (7) That the congregations which they served became Lutheran after their deaths does not prove anything regarding their status during an earlier period. When the people were unable to secure Reformed ministers, then they accepted Lutheran pastors.

² The title of the book, which was advertised by Christopher Saur and circulated in the colonies, is *Zions Lehr und Wunder, oder Predigten über die Sonn-und Fest-täglichen Evangelia*. Cassel, 1733; 1024 p.

nary, Pennsburg, Pennsylvania. In it is the following inscription, which translated into English reads:

"This book belongs to me, J. Ch. Seyfert, Reformed schoolmaster and Minister of the Word of God at Great Swamp. On St. Michael's day [September 29th], 1739, according to the new calender, I arrived at Great Swamp in the Reformed congregation. May the great God grant me power, wisdom and strength to teach the Word of God in its purity, as a comfort to poor souls and as a means for the extension of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ. Amen."

Seyfert preached at Great Swamp, apparently from 1739 until the arrival of George Michael Wiess in 1746. What became of him afterwards we do not know.

JOHN WILLIAM STRAUB

1688——?

"Johann Wilhelm Straub" arrived at Philadelphia on the "Pink Plaisance," John Parrett, master, from Rotterdam. The captain's list of this ship gives his age as 44 years; hence he was born in 1688.

We learn more about Straub from John Philip Boehm, who wrote about him in a letter, dated July 25, 1741:

"When Goetschi left Schip Bach, the party of Reiff immediately accepted another man in his place for the church which is built on the property of Reiff. His name is John William Straub, who was a schoolmaster in the Electoral Palatinate, in the village of Gronau. There he committed adultery, and was, therefore, deposed and then he came to this country."

The records at Cronau (also spelled Gronau) confirm this statement. They show that he was schoolmaster there, beginning with the year 1726. As stated above he came to Pennsylvania in 1732 and was preacher at Skippack, beginning with 1739. He was naturalized September 25, 1740, at Philadelphia.¹

In 1741 the Western Salisbury Church was built near Emaus, in Salisbury Township, Lehigh County. A deed was executed on December 17, 1743, between Henry Roth and John Martin Bamberger, on the one side, and John William Straub, pastor on the Little Lehigh, and the elders, on the other side, for two acres of land, costing twenty shillings.²

¹ See Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd Series, II, 348.

² See B. Trexler, *Skizzen aus dem Lecha Thale*, (Allentown, 1888), 73.

How long he preached at Western Salisbury is not known definitely, but it was at least from 1741 to 1743, perhaps a few years longer.

In October, 1746, Rev. Michael Schlatter found Straub preaching at Indian Creek, in "a new frame church" there. He writes:

"Hitherto a linen-weaver, named Straub, has preached every three weeks in this congregation and has performed ministerial acts, but he has now promised me to administer the sacraments no more. However, he will continue to preach or read, at my request, until they secure a minister, hoping that he can serve as school-teacher, for which he is well qualified, and will receive a small yearly contribution from the Reverend Synods of Holland."¹

On October 2, 1750, John Straub, bachelor, from Kronau, Palatinate, and Anna Catharina Frank, daughter of John Frank, of the Lutheran congregation, Philadelphia, were married by Michael Schlatter. This was most likely the son of Mr. Straub, Sr. It could not have been the father, as he was a married man when he came to Pennsylvania. His wife, Anna Margaret, is mentioned in the records at Cronau, Germany.

CHRISTIAN THEUS

In the year 1737 a German colony, called Saxe-Gotha, was settled along the upper course of the Congaree river, near the junction of the Broad and Saluda rivers. It was settled largely by Swiss, with John Jacob Riemensperg, of Toggenburg, in the Canton of St. Gall, as their leader. In 1740 he returned to Switzerland, and, in order to induce more of his countrymen to emigrate to South Carolina, he published in St. Gall, in 1740, a pamphlet, entitled: *Truthful and reliable Good News of the Royal English Province of Carolina*,² in which he drew an alluring picture of the advantages granted to new settlers. Every settler, he reported, was to receive payment of his traveling expenses, and for every member of his family fifty acres of land; half an acre for his homestead, and twenty pounds for the first year, with which to buy provisions and tools. He appealed particularly to all "Evangelical Reformed people" to settle near Saxe-Gotha, but Catholics were not desired as settlers.

A large Lutheran colony had been settled at Ebenezer, Georgia, on the Savannah River, not far from Savannah, Georgia, in 1732. It had two Lutheran pastors, Rev. John Martin Boltzius and Rev. Israel Chris-

¹ "Private Diary of Schlatter," published by the writer in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, III, 161f.

² The German title reads: *Wahrhaftige und gantz zuverlässige Gute Zeitung von der Königl-Englischen Provinz Carolina*. St. Gall, 1740.

tian Cronau, who maintained with their friends in Germany a lively correspondence, known as the *Urlspurger Nachrichten*, published by the Rev. Samuel Urlsperger, Lutheran pastor at Augsburg, Germany. It appeared in eighteen installments, from 1735 to 1752. Later reports appeared in four parts, from 1754 to 1767, under the title *Amerikanisches Ackerwerck Gottes*, also printed at Augsburg. As the Lutheran pastors kept up friendly relations with their Reformed neighbors, there are numerous important references to Reformed pastors and congregations in South Carolina and Georgia.

In 1741 the news of the erection of the new township of Saxe-Gotha reached the Lutheran pastors at Ebenezer. They write, under date December 2, 1741:

We had heard nothing before of Saxe-Gotha in Amercia, but we have just received intelligence that such a town is laid out in South Carolina, 100 English miles (or 25 German miles) from Charles-Town, on the road which passes through Orangeburg, and is settled with German people. Doubtless the majority of them are Reformed people, because they have a Reformed minister among them, with whose character we are not yet acquainted."²

This Reformed minister was the Rev. Christian Theus, who had come with his parents to South Carolina from Switzerland, as a candidate of theology. He had been examined, licensed, and ordained by the "English Presbyterian Ministerium" and from 1739 officiated as minister among the German Reformed settlers of South Carolina.

In 1750 one of the Lutheran ministers refers to this settlement: "The German Evangelical Lutheran inhabitants of Congaree, in South Carolina, which new settlement has been named Saxe-Gotha, besought me several months ago to come to them and preach for them and administer the Lord's Supper. . . . The Reformed have received 500 pounds, Carolina currency, from the government (which amount to something more than 500 guilders) for the building of a church, but no one is interested in the Lutherans, unless I would do something in their behalf. They live with the Reformed in great disunion, at which I showed my displeasure in my former letter. . . . The citizens themselves, a Carolina minister once wrote me, live disorderly among each other and have a low estimate of their Reformed minister."³

About 1760 Mr. Theus came in contact with a fanatical sect, called the Weberites, whose leader, Jacob Weber, having been involved in a

² *Urlspurger Reports*, II, 1791. In December, 1741, the Lutheran pastors report the arrival of another colony of Swiss, "who will soon be taken by their leader, Mr. Riemensberg to Saxe-Gotha."

³ *Urlspurger Reports*, IV, 672.

murder, was duly executed for it in Charleston. The Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg gives the following account, derived from Mr. Theus:

"An old, upright Reformed preacher, Mr. [Christian] Theus, with whom I had the pleasure of speaking here in Charlestown, told me that he had come by chance into one of their [the Weberites] meetings, where the three leaders were sitting on a raised platform, while the group was at their feet. Schmidt Peter addressed him, saying: 'Little parson, do you believe that I am the Redeemer and Savior of the world and that no man can be saved without me?' and the other two leaders confronted him with the same kind of blasphemous questions. When he replied to these questions with a severe rebuke, the leaders declared him guilty of death and asked their band whether he ought not to be hanged from the nearest tree. The reply was no, he had blasphemed and offended the holy assembly and must be drowned in the deepest depth. So when the crowd began to grow excited and was about to seize him, he got up and fled to the nearby river, where, fortunately, he came upon a Negro with a boat on the water just about to push off. The Negro hurriedly took him in and set out, so those who were chasing him arrived too late."⁴

In October, 1774, the Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg visited Charleston, where he met the Rev. Mr. Theus personally on October 22, 1774. He describes the visit in his diary:

"This afternoon I had a pleasant visit from the Rev. Mr. Theus, the Reformed minister at Congeries [Congaree River], as it is called in South Carolina, one hundred and twenty miles from Charlestown, a brother of the recently deceased painter, Mr. Theus, who took me into his house thirty-two years ago (when I traveled through here on my journey from Savannah to Philadelphia, and afforded me an opportunity to preach the Word of God to the few German families that were here at that time). The aforesaid Pastor Theus came to this country with his parents from Switzerland as a candidate of theology. He was examined and ordained by the Reverend English Presbyterian Ministerium and since 1739 has been performing the duties of the ministerial office among the German Reformed and Lutheran inhabitants of this broad territory. According to testimony of competent witnesses, he had conducted himself with propriety and fidelity due to his office. We had a pleasant conversation and he promised me a written account of church matters in the country districts, which he is best fitted to give since he has lived in this country the longest and is a literary man."⁵

Mr. Theus was still active in 1787, when with another Reformed minister, Carl Frederick Froelich, and three Lutheran ministers he en-

⁴ *Journals of Henry M. Muhlenberg*, II, 578.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 592.

tered into a union movement, called "Corpus Evangelicum," which had as its object the union of all Lutheran and Reformed congregations in South Carolina into one ecclesiastical body. The union, however, as might have been expected, did not last long. The latest minutes that have survived are of a meeting in January, 1789.⁶ At this meeting Mr. Theus was present, but it is the last time his name is mentioned. He probably died soon afterwards.

His last resting place is still pointed out in a field along the state road, between Columbia and Sandy Run, about eight miles from Columbia. Mr. Abraham Geiger erected a tombstone, at his own expense, to his memory. It bears the following inscription:

"This stone points out where the remains of Rev. Christian Theus lie. This faithful divine labored through a long life as a faithful servant of his Master's vineyard, and the reward which he received from many of his labor was ingratitude."⁷

JOHN CONRAD WUERTZ (WIRTZ)

1706-1763

John Conrad Wuertz (*later* Wirtz) was born at Zurich, Switzerland, November 30, 1706. His father, John Conrad Wuertz, Sr., was born in 1661. He became pastor at Kloten and later at Neukirchen. In 1711 he was appointed administrator of the charitable foundation of the Great Minster, the cathedral church at Zurich, but lost his position in 1728, due to mismanagement. He died May 4, 1730. He was married, on November 3, 1685, to Magdalena Klingler. Their union was blessed with fourteen children, eight of whom died in infancy. There were five "Conrads," but only the last, the 13th child, survived. He is the subject of our sketch.

When John Conrad, Jr., reached early manhood he went to Holland, where he entered the service of the Dutch navy, as a cadet. He was, perhaps, induced to take this step by the fact that the husband of a sister was in the Dutch service, being stationed at The Hague. Soon, however, he gave up his military career and returned to Zurich, where he began to practice law. In October, 1734, he left Zurich with a large colony of Swiss emigrants, bound originally for Carolina. They changed their destination when their leader, the Rev. Maurice Goetschy, was appointed to a pastorate in Pennsylvania. Wirtz served as commissary of the expedi-

⁶ Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, 303.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 140.

tion. When they reached Neuwied, near Coblenz, four couples, including John Conrad Wirtz and Anna Goetschy, were married by the Reformed pastor of the place, on October 28, 1734.

After many trials and difficulties the colony reached Philadelphia on May 29, 1735, by the ship "Mercury," captain William Wilson. Conrad Wirtz was the first to sign the oath of allegiance to the King of England, in the courthouse at Philadelphia. When their leader, Rev. Maurice Goetschy died the day after their landing, the two brothers-in-law, Conrad Wirtz and Henry Goetschy, were badly stranded and it took them a while to find suitable places for their talents. In time both became Reformed preachers, who ministered to scattered Reformed congregations.

Shortly after his arrival in Pennsylvania Wirtz accepted the position of parochial schoolmaster at Old Goshenhoppen, where his brother-in-law, Henry Goetschy, had become the preacher. From there he moved to Conestoga, Lancaster County, where the Mennonites engaged his services as schoolmaster. In 1741 we find him at Egypt, Lehigh County, where he preached from September, 1742, to December, 1743, entering during that time nine baptisms in the church record. His entries are headed by the following statement:

"The beginning was made in 1742. Baptized by me, John Conrad Wuertz, V.D.M., Helvetico-Tigurinus." In 1745 he appears at Saucon and Allemaengel. On August 29, 1745, the minutes of the Helpers' Conference at Bethlehem, report:

"The pastor at Saucon, who has had oil made for himself, confesses that he would like to be a brother. He has only one place at which to preach. He resides at Saucon." That this pastor was really Wirtz is shown by a list of Reformed ministers in the church record of the Lower Saucon Church, which list is headed by "Mr. Wurtz." Another entry in the minutes of the Helpers' Conference, on September 13, 1745, reads: "Conrad Wirths, A Reformed minister at Allemaengel, who was against us, is now for us."

When Michael Schlatter came to Pennsylvania, Wirtz went to see him on October 14, 1746. About this interview Schlatter wrote in his private diary:¹

"One of these days there came to see me a certain man, named Wirtz, of Zurich, a son-in-law of the old Goetschi who died in this country. He visited me with his wife in Philadelphia to recommend himself to me and to ask my counsel. He was very frank, confessing his fault of having presumed to act as a minister, without ordination, but having done so only because of his need and poverty, and at the solicitation of the

¹ Published by the writers in the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, III, 105-121; 158-176.

farmers. But now, having heard my commission, he was perfectly willing to submit to my directions and instantly cease administering the holy sacraments, if I were willing and able to help him to obtain a meagre subsistence. Finally he asked humbly whether there were no possibility for him of being ordained to the ministry. Whereupon I answered him that I did not know him, nor had any positive information about his conduct, life, and teaching, and the disposition of the people towards him. Furthermore I told him, I would not do anything against my conscience, nor act to the detriment of the Church. But next summer I would actually investigate his case and then, if it seemed feasible, submit it to the Reverend Fathers, and await their reply. With this he seemed to be well satisfied."

During the following summer Schlatter actually carried out his intention and visited Saucon on June 28-29, 1747. He came from Maxatwny, Berks County. He writes in his journal:

"I went twenty-five miles farther to Saccony, a congregation which is served by a certain Mr. J. C. Wirtz, to whom I have already referred. Here I preached on the 29th, and when after the services I laid my instruction before them, I asked them, whether they would have Mr. Wirtz, who was also present, as their minister in case he should be regularly qualified by the Reverend Christian Synod. The congregation was not entirely unanimous; some desired rather to have another minister, in order that full unity might be restored to the congregation."

On the same day Schlatter visited Springfield, nine miles from Saucon, at which place Wirtz ministered also, and there he found the same condition as at Lower Saucon.

The minutes of the Coetus of 1747 report Wirtz as preaching at "Saucon, Forks of Delaware [now Easton], Springfield, etc." and the people as well satisfied with him. His case was to be reported favorably to Holland. In addition to the churches already mentioned, Wirtz preached and baptized also at Tohickon, in Bedminster Township, Bucks County, from 1745 to 1748.

Failing to receive the approval of the Fathers in Holland, Wirtz went to New Jersey, where several German congregations were interested in him. On September 27, 1750, the congregation at Rockaway, New Jersey, submitted a petition to the Presbyterian Synod of New York, asking for the ordination of Wirtz. The petition was turned over to the Presbytery of New Brunswick for action. The Presbytery considered his case, and, after listening to an account of his Christian experience, asked him to prepare a sermon based on John 3:3, and to write an exegesis on the question: "Whether we are justified by the righteousness of Christ?" On November 6, 1751, Wirtz appeared again before Presbytery. At this

time his examination was sustained. But, as a letter from the German Coetus was received complaining about his conduct, final action was delayed. Finally, on May 27, 1752, Presbytery received a letter from the Coetus of Pennsylvania, "wherein they declared that they have received full satisfaction from him with regard to his former proceeding in the ministry, and do recommend him to us under the divine blessing, wishing us to forward him to the glory of God and the edification of his Church."²

The ordination of Wirtz took place at Rockaway on June 8, 1752. Wirtz ministered to the people of Rockaway and German Valley till 1761. On October 21, 1761, he was given a letter of dismissal to accept a call from the German Reformed Church at York, Pennsylvania, but he did not move into his new field of labor till May 1762. On May 9, Wirtz preached his introductory sermon at York, from Rev. 10:10. His ministry at York was, however, of very short duration. An entry in the church record states: "The Rev. Conrad Wuertz died on the 21st of September 1763 and was buried on September 23rd." He was buried under the altar of the First Reformed Church at York, the floor of the church not having been laid at that time. On May 14, 1914, the body was removed to Zion's Reformed Church at York, and a bronze memorial tablet was placed over his grave.

CASPER LEWIS SCHNORR

Pastor at Lancaster, 1744-46

Casper Lewis Schnorr, who acted as pastor of the Lancaster Church for a short time, was not a man the church can be proud of.

His name is first mentioned in the minutes of the Deputies of the Holland Synods—March 10, 1744—when he appeared before the Deputies at The Hague. He stated that he had accepted a call, extended by the Consistory at Zweibruecken, to become pastor of the Reformed congregation of Tulpehocken, in Pennsylvania. He asked that he be given some assistance to reach his destination. As he was not able to submit proper credentials of his work and character, and as ugly rumors of his conduct had reached the Deputies, they declined to assist him, but promised that if, after his arrival in Pennsylvania, good reports about him and his work came to their knowledge, they would then not be averse to helping him.

Schnorr then turned to the Classis of Amsterdam, where his appeal was more successful. It willingly aided him with "love-gifts" and sent

² For a more extended account of John Conrad Wirtz, see the writer's *History of the Tohickon Union Church*, 3-14.

him to Pennsylvania with the good wishes of the Classis and the honorable Consistory of Amsterdam.

When he reached London, he was detained there for five months, waiting for a convoy to protect ships on their voyage to America. Finally he went aboard an English merchant-ship, named "William," captain Henry Harrison, which arrived at Philadelphia within twelve weeks.¹ Shortly after his departure the Classis of Amsterdam wrote him a letter, on July 22, 1744, in which they accused him of not telling them the truth regarding his past life, and informing him that they had received documentary proof about his misconduct in his former home. They called upon him to repent of his past life, to ask God's forgiveness, to lead a new life in the future, and to cause them to hear better reports about him.

Schnorr replied to the Classis on March 15, 1745. He informed them that he had had a difficult journey, and that when he reached Philadelphia he learned from the captain of a Dutch ship, in which his wife and two children had sailed directly from Rotterdam, that his wife and his youngest child had died on board, with about fifty other passengers. This great calamity had caused him much mental suffering and agony.

Shortly after his arrival in this country, he wrote, he had received a number of calls from vacant congregations, among which was one from Lancaster, which he had accepted, because he felt weak and Lancaster was reported as one of the healthiest places in Pennsylvania. But he had made an agreement with this congregation to allow him to preach once a month at Tulpehocken, with which the Tulpehocken congregation was content. He had been preaching at Lancaster for four months and had found that many people who had been led astray from the Reformed Church by false teachers were coming back, and that there were good prospects for the future.

Regarding their request that he assist in forming a Reformed Classis or Convention, he reported that he had written to the Rev. Messrs. Dorsius and Boehm (the only other Reformed preachers in the province) but had not received any answer from them. He promised to write to them again. His salary, he stated, was £40 which was not sufficient to support him. But, as the people were poor, unable to pay more, he asked the Classis to grant him an annual subsidy. He also asked for a few hundred Bibles, a number of hymn books, and catechisms. He complained that the printer at Germantown, Saur, was publishing an *Almanac*, in which he stated that the Book of Job wasn't worth reading if it did not contain the sentence, "I know that my Redeemer liveth."

¹ This shows that the ship-lists, published in the *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* are not complete. They do not mention this ship.

Hence he was preaching at all his preaching places against the Bible printed by Saur.

On November 10, 1745, Schnorr wrote a second letter to the Classis, in which he announced the return of Rieger to Pennsylvania in March, 1745, and his efforts to return to the pastorate of the Lancaster congregation, and that, in order to persuade the people to accept him again, he had offered to build a parsonage and secure a bell for the church. But, as he had been preaching false doctrines from the pulpit, the congregation would have nothing to do with him.

However, Rieger's offer of a parsonage had raised the suspicion that he had received a liberal donation for the Lancaster church in Holland. Hence Schnorr inquired whether such a donation had really been made, and if so, he asked that Rieger be ordered to hand it over to the congregation. There was, of course, no truth in this rumor. Schnorr finally reported that he had 106 members in the congregation, of whom 61 signed his second letter.

Turning to the Lancaster church record we find that Schnorr began his ministry at Lancaster on November 12, 1744. His first baptism is dated December 25, 1744. From that date to March 15, 1746, he entered 60 baptisms. He also recorded 37 marriages, up to March 29, 1746.

Schnorr's attacks upon Saur as well as his continued bad conduct were his undoing. When Saur heard of his attacks he published a strong denunciation of his conduct, in his newspaper, *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, October 16, 1745:

"The dear man [Schnorr], instead of bettering his conduct, thought to revenge himself upon Sauer,² but commenced at the wrong end. He preached at Tulpehocken and other places, that the Germantown Bible was false, and that people should beware of it (as his hearers declare). Now, if the dear man had abused Sauer in every possible way and had painted him with the Devil's black brush, Sauer would not have answered a word in his own justification. Now, however, as he has proclaimed the Bible false and has published it, he will have to answer unto God."

Schnorr, however, instead of discontinuing his attacks, rushed into print and published a printed defense of his conduct and renewed his attacks on Saur, with the result that Saur also became more virulent. He accused Schnorr of drunkenness and immorality. He reports that Schnorr was haled into court and punished for his misconduct,³ although not

² He first spelled his name Sauer; later, Saur.

³ Henry M. Muhlenberg, in his *Journals* under date of June 20, 1747, (I. 154) writes: "The German Reformed congregation formerly had the wanton sinner Caspar Schnorr as its preacher, who was lately punished by the provincial and city court for rape."

severely enough to suit Saur. That was the end of Schnorr. The congregation deposed him and he took refuge in flight.

When he reappeared for a brief period, he was in the State of New York. Dr. Corwin, (*Manual* p. 705) reports him as preaching at East Camp, or Germantown, New York State, from 1746 to 1748. After that he disappeared from sight.

PHILIP JACOB MICHAEL (MICHEL)

1716-1786

Philip Jacob Michael was one of the best of the independent Reformed ministers. He was the founder of and preacher in numerous Reformed congregations and served them with great fidelity for more than forty years.

Michael was born in Germany in 1716, for in 1764 he is reported as being then 48 years of age.¹ Formerly the writer was inclined to identify him with a Jacob Michael who arrived at Philadelphia on the "Snow Lowther," Joseph Fisher, master, qualifying on October 14, 1731.² But, now that the lists of the arrivals at Philadelphia have been published in the *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, this is no longer possible, for this particular Jacob Michael of 1731 was so ignorant that he could not even spell his own name correctly. He actually wrote it Jacob Michgel. We know from other genuine signatures of the preacher Jacob Michael that he wrote a good hand and knew how to spell his name.

The first trace we have of him in this country is in Heidelberg Church, Lehigh County, in 1744. In that year a log church was built at Heidelberg, which Michael and Schertlein (the Lutheran pastor) dedicated. On March 28, 1745, he signed a contract between the Lutherans and Reformed that the church building was to be and remain a union church.³

In 1750 we find him present at the dedication of Ziegel Church in Lehigh County. On July 6, 1750, he signed an agreement between the Reformed and Lutheran members of that church. When the church was dedicated on July 29, 1750, Michael preached the first sermon and was the first Reformed pastor of the congregation.⁴

¹ See *Minutes of Coetus*, 226.

² Rupp's *Thirty-thousand Names*, (1880), 71.

³ Helffrich, *Geschichte verschiedener Gemeinden*, 33.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

In the year 1750 the first church building of Jacob's Church, in Jacksonville, Lynn Township, Lehigh County, was erected. Here also Michael officiated at the dedication of the church.⁵

Two years later we meet Michael at Longswamp, in Berks County. Jacob Weimer, the schoolmaster, reports about it as follows in the old church record:

"After this work [the building of the church] had been completed, to the honor of God and for their own salvation, they accepted the honored Frederick Casimir Miller, for the purpose of dedicating the church and they also elected him as their preacher, who served them for some time. But when he left them, they looked for another shepherd and accepted the honored Philip Jacob Michael as their minister. During this and the preceding pastor's ministry Mr. Frederick Hölwig acted as cantor and precentor until the present time, when this was written." The ministry of Michael at Longswamp extended probably from 1752 to 1753.

In 1753 and 1754 we find Michael at Reading, where he baptized three children. Curiously enough, their names and baptisms are recorded in the Lutheran Church record, with the explicit statement that Michael baptized them. The first baptism was on February 6, 1753; the last, on November 10, 1754.

In the year 1753 a union church was built at Molatton, Amity Township, Berks County. Rev. H. M. Muehlenberg, reports in the *Hallesche Nachrichten* of 1754:

"Our Lutherans, together with the Reformed people, have built, three miles from the Swedish church, a union school and meeting-house, in which they are served by a Reformed self-taught man (*autodidact*).⁶

In 1759 the Maxatawny, or DeLong, Evangelical Reformed Congregation was organized. Peter DeLong and his wife Eva Elizabeth gave to the congregation two acres of land for church and school. As Michael lived a short distance east of the village of Bowers, on what is still known as "Michel's Hill," he was probably its first pastor. The baptismal record was begun on June 9, 1765, with a series of baptisms in the handwriting of Michael. His name is found in a financial statement dated April 11, 1770. The statement is signed, "Philip Jacob Michel, Prediger, bey Elisabetha DeLangin in der Kirch." Michael served the congregation probably from 1759 to 1770. In 1771, the minutes of Coetus report: "The congregation at Maxatawny, which was formerly served by Do. Michael, has been for quite a time without a minister." A committee of three ministers was appointed to supply the congregation.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁶ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, new ed., I, 443; II, 137f.

In 1760 the Ebenezer Church, also called "the Organ Church," in Lynn Township, bought land and built a church, which was dedicated by Michael in 1761.⁷ He is said to have ministered to the congregation from 1760 to 1770.

In 1761 Michael began his ministry at Weissenberg Church, in Weissenberg Township, Lehigh County. The congregation had been founded, about 1747, by Mr. Kittweiler. He was followed by Michael in 1761, as appears from his handwriting in the church record. He supplied the congregation until the middle of the seventies, or about 1775.⁸

About the same time Michael supplied Indian Creek, at Jost Dreisbach's, in Northampton County. In a letter which Elder Simon Dreisbach sent to the Rev. J. H. Helffrich in January, 1773, he reported:

"A minister was promised to us as soon as one should come in [from Holland]. Meanwhile the Rev. Mr. Leydich and the Rev. Mr. Michael were to supply us until a minister should come in. Each of these congregations [Indianland, Indiancreek, and Mooretownship] gave twelve pounds to the said ministers to come to us on a week-day, every three weeks, for one year, which was done and our congregation got its share until several ministers came in." This was before Rev. Casper Weyberg arrived in 1762.

In 1764 Michael appeared before the Coetus of Pennsylvania and asked for ordination and admission as a member. The minutes state:

"Philip Jacob Michael appeared with an earnest petition that he might be admitted as a member of the Coetus. His credentials from far and near show that, according to the rules of our Reformed Church, he has been faithful in doctrine, life, and conduct for fourteen years [1750-1764] and constantly served the same congregations in Maxatawny, and, therefore, he does not deserve the name of an adventurer or Moravian. He showed that twelve years ago Mr. Schlatter would not recognize or admit him because of unfounded reasons. Wherefore he would not apply again, although he labored continually in harmony with us. We can state all this the more readily because all his congregations are well known to us and we know that he has unweariedly aimed for this end, and even now, in his 48th year, he supplies with the greatest zeal twelve congregations. This earnest request and petition we could not refuse. But since he has not been ordained, according to the order of our Church, we herewith request permission and proper authority from the Reverend Synods to ordain him."

In spite of this earnest plea the Fathers in Holland refused to con-

⁷ Helffrich, *Geschichte*, 47.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 41.

sent to his ordination. Hence he continued his work without official approval.

In 1769 St. Michael's church was founded in Upper Bern Township, Berks County. A union church was built, which was dedicated August 6, 1769, by Mr. Michael. A constitution was adopted on July 12, 1772, in which it is distinctly stated that Michael was the first pastor.

Finally, Michael preached for some time in Zion's Church, Windsor Castle, Perry Township, Berks County. On June 12, 1774, he baptized seven children of Conrad Wirth; in connection with them it is stated: "All the above children were baptized here in the Ziegel's Church [another popular name of the church] by the Rev. Mr. Michael on the 12th of June, in the presence of the whole congregation."

During the War of the Revolution Michael resigned his churches. On May 17, 1777, he was appointed chaplain of the First Battalion of the Berks County Militia.⁹

After the war he resumed his office as pastor. At Longswamp he entered upon his third pastorate in January 1781; it ended in 1785.

His will is dated May 6, 1786, and was probated at Reading, June 17, 1786. It shows that he was the owner of 94 acres of land, situated partly in Rockland Township and partly in Longswamp Township. He was survived by his widow, Sarah, nee Webb, daughter of John Webb, of Exeter Township, Berks County, and five children, four sons and a daughter.

We have not been able to trace him in all the twelve congregations which he supplied in 1764, but from the above sketch it is evident that he filled a large place in the history of the Reformed Church in Berks and Lehigh counties.

JOHN JOACHIM ZUBLIN (ZUBLY), D.D.

By far the most eminent Reformed minister during the Colonial period was John Joachim Zubly, D.D., of Savannah, Georgia.

He was descended from a prominent family of St. Gall, Switzerland, where his ancestors had been citizens since the Reformation. Felix Zublin, the second of that name, acquired citizenship at St. Gall in 1545. John Joachim himself represented the ninth generation of his family resident in that city. His father and grandfather, both named David, were weavers, but held prominent civil offices. In 1732 the City Council of St. Gall authorized his father David to edit a weekly newspaper, called "Der Bericht," which was under strict governmental censorship.

⁹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser. XIII, 161; *Pennsylvania German*, VIII, 190f.

John Joachim Zubly was born in St. Gall August 27, 1724, the son of David Zubly and his wife Helena, nee Mueller, whom he had married on December 11, 1722. They had seven children, of whom John Joachim was the eldest.

In September, 1736, David Zubly, together with a number of friends, emigrated to South Carolina. An account of the voyage was published in 1738 by Hans Wernhardt Trachsel.¹ In it he informs us that on September 9, 1736, he and his family left Elgg, a town in the canton of Zurich, for Holland. When they arrived at Rotterdam they met there a large party from Appenzell and other places in Switzerland. In this party were David Zubly, of St. Gall; The Rev. Bartholomew Zuberbuehler, of Trogen; and John Tober (later father-in-law of J. J. Zubly), of Herisau. The whole colony consisted of 250 persons. They engaged passage for South Carolina, paying the captain of the ship five louis d'ors for every adult and half that sum for children from three to twelve years of age. After a journey of twelve weeks and three days they landed in Charleston, South Carolina, in February, 1737. From there they scattered. Some remained at Charleston, others moved to Purysburg, Orangeburg, and other German settlements.

It was formerly supposed that John Jachim accompanied his father on this journey and settled in South Carolina in 1737. But we now know, from the records in St. Gall, that he was left behind to complete his studies. A sum of money was in the hands of his grandfather, sufficient to pay the cost of his education. Unfortunately, two years later his grandfather failed in business and the money was lost. However, friends came to his rescue and enabled him to continue his studies. As a boy he attended the Latin School (Gymnasium) of his native city. Later he studied theology privately under two St. Gall professors.

On February 26, 1743, his father addressed a letter from Purysburg to the City Council of St. Gall, asking that his son be given a dispensation to take his examination and ordination (although he had not reached the canonical age of 21), because a German congregation in Savannah was ready to call him as minister. He also asked that a sum of money be contributed to cover the expenses of his journey. The ministers of St. Gall refused to waive the statutes for him, but a contribution was made for his expenses.

According to a manuscript biography of the St. Gall ministers (in the city archives), young Zubly then applied to the ministers of Chur, who granted his request and ordained him at Chur, Graubünden. This

¹ Kurtze, verfasste Reiss Beschreibung eines neulich aus der in West Indien gelegenen Landschaft Carolina in sein Vaterland zurückgekommenen Lands Angehörigen. Zurich: 1738, 8 p.

statement, probably based on hear-say, is erroneous, because a letter of Zubly, addressed on December 10, 1766, to Dr. Stiles of Yale College,² states distinctly that he was ordained in the German Church in London on August 10, 1744. This is indirectly confirmed by his autograph album (now in the Historical Society of the Reformed Church at Lancaster), which has entries made by London ministers in August 1744.

Zubly left St. Gall on November 21, 1743. From May to August, 1744, he was in London. When he reached South Carolina, he stayed for a time with his father, serving meanwhile as an itinerant preacher throughout South Carolina and Georgia. On November 10, 1746, he married Anna Tobler, daughter of John Tobler.

A Lutheran source³ gives the following information about Zubly during this period of his life:

"Mr. David Zubly, of Purysburg, having a son who studied theology in Switzerland, and having received a certificate from Professor Wegelin, that he was fit to preach, would like to have his son as preacher in Purysburg, but since the Germans there are constantly decreasing, would prefer to have the German Reformed people in Savannah to extend a call to him."

This desire of his father apparently was not realized immediately, for Bernheim in his *History*,⁴ states that in 1747 Zubly organized a German Reformed Church at Frederica, on St. Simons Island, south of Savannah. Zubly preached also in Orangeburg County and effected the organization of "The German Calvinist Church of St. John on the Fourhole," which was incorporated by the State Legislature in 1788. Fourhole is the name of a creek in Amelia Township. In 1746 Zubly visited George Whitefield, in his orphanage Bethesda, near Charleston. A strong friendship sprang up between these two men. In Zubly's autograph album Whitefield calls him his "son in the Lord." Later Zubly raised a large sum of money for this orphanage, on a trip to the northern states.

In 1753 Zubly became pastor at Wandoneck, opposite Charleston, of the so-called Wappetaw Church, where he preached, as also at Charleston, till 1759. On January 28, 1759, he preached his farewell sermon in the Independent Church at Charleston, "in a lively, powerful and satisfactory manner."⁵ He had accepted a call to the Independent Presbyterian Church at Savannah, where he preached with much success and acceptance till 1778.

² Letter to Dr. Stiles in Yale University Library, Stiles MSS. See Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 266.

³ *Acta-historico-Ecclesiastica* (Weimar, 1745), IX, 918.

⁴ Bernheim, *History*, 265f.

⁵ "Hutson Diary," quoted in Howe's *History*, 259.

In 1753 Zubly visited Pennsylvania, in behalf of Whitefield's orphanage. He arrived in April 1753 and came into contact with many Reformed churches. Ministers of all denominations welcomed him. His autograph album shows the names of many prominent persons, both English and German, such as Aaron Burr, President of Princeton College; Alexander Cumming, of the old South Church, Boston; Gilbert Tennent; Muhlenberg, and others.⁶ He was a powerful preacher, presenting the great truths of the Bible, repentance, conversion, adoption into the Church of God, in a convincing manner. On Whitsunday, 1753, he preached in the Reformed Church at Germantown, to the envy of Steiner, who attacked him from the pulpit on the following Sunday.

From Pennsylvania Zubly went to New York, where the German Reformed congregation offered to build him a church if he would stay with them, an offer which he declined. It was a critical time for the Coetus of Pennsylvania. Its members were divided into two factions, Mr. Schlatter being the pivot around whom the controversy raged. Hence Saur, the Germantown printer, proposed, for the sake of harmony, that Zubly should become the superintendent of the charity schools. In a letter to the Rev. J. Heintzelman, dated July 1, 1755, Zubly expressed his doubt that the proposition would meet with the approval of Schlatter. "Mr. Saur," he wrote, "has given me a favorable idea of the Trustees. In this matter I look to God alone." Nothing came of the suggestion.

In 1770 the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, for which occasion he wrote a Latin thesis. He was now a famous man, known throughout the colonies by his numerous published sermons and addresses. In 1756 he published what is probably the first English book by a Reformed theologian in this country: *The Real Christian's Hope in Death*, Germantown; Sower, 1756. From 1746 to 1751 he published four sermons in German. After 1756 all his publications were in English. A list of his books and pamphlets, as far as they are known at present, is appended to this sketch.

In 1774, the Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg visited South Carolina and Georgia, especially the Lutheran Church at Ebenezer, Georgia, where serious dissensions had arisen. Dr. Zubly met Muhlenberg a number of times during this visit. Muhlenberg refers to him repeatedly in his diary. Thus, on October 28, 1774, he writes:

"At noon my family and I dined at the home of the Rev. Dr. Zubly and spent the afternoon with him in his library. Good advice was now at a premium for me and, since Dr. Z. was a learned, experienced, well disposed impartial well-wisher and friend and was best informed concerning

⁶ Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, 211f.

the internal and external condition at Eben Ezer, I asked him for his candid advice. . . . Dr. Z. has a fine collection of old and new books, the like of which I had seldom seen in America. The external appearance of his library and study is hardly inferior to that of the most famous in Europe. . . .⁷

Again, on January 9, 1745, he writes:

"The Rev. Dr. Zubly arrived from Savannah and showed us the manuscript of his Latin dissertation *pro gradu doctoris*, which is shortly to appear in print. We spent a pleasant evening together."⁸ This dissertation, entitled *Exercitatio de nuptis virginis super adultae ad illustrandum locum I Cor. VII:36*, appeared at Charleston in 1775, and in German in 1776.

In July, 1775, Dr. Zubly was appointed to preach the opening sermon before the Provincial Congress of Georgia. This eloquent sermon, based on James II:12, "So speak ye and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty," was prefaced by a strongly-worded address to William, Duke of Dartmouth, then Secretary of State for the Colonies. In it Zubly vigorously denounced the acts of violence and oppression committed by British troops. Thus he wrote: "The burning of the innocent town of Charleston, after it had been left by its inhabitants, is a piece of wanton cruelty as will fix an everlasting disgrace on the British arms."

On July 10, 1775, Dr. Zubly and four other persons were elected by the Provincial Congress of Georgia to represent Georgia in the Continental Congress. Dr. Zubly expressed his great surprise and stated that he could not accept the honor unless his congregation consented. A committee was appointed to interview the members of his church. At this interview the members promptly gave their consent to spare their pastor for a time for the good of the country. Zubly thereupon thanked the Provincial Congress for the honor conferred upon him and expressed his willingness to accept the appointment. Shortly afterwards he was selected to draft a petition to the King, showing the unhappy condition of affairs in the Colonies. He was also appointed to prepare a letter to the President of Continental Congress and was made chairman of a committee to frame an address to Governor Wright of Georgia.

Having arrived at Philadelphia, Zubly was appointed to deliver the opening prayer before Congress. He made the fatal mistake of attempting to steer a middle course in his political endeavors. Although he denounced unsparingly the conduct of the British ministers, he still believed that some sort of compromise could be worked out with the mother country.

⁷ *Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg*, I, 596.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 662f.

"I do not regard independence as a remedy for our troubles," he declared, "but rather as a new and dangerous disease." When he found that the intention of Congress was to declare the independence of the Colonies, he communicated that fact to Governor Wright of Georgia. One of his letters to him was intercepted. As a result Judge Samuel Chase, of Maryland, revealed this fact on the floor of Congress and accused him of treasonable conduct. In the confusion that followed Zubly withdrew hastily and returned to Georgia to defend his conduct before his constituents. To his great surprise he discovered that everybody was against him: he was a politician without a following. He never returned to Congress. If he had stayed a few months longer he might have gained immortal fame as one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

As it was, he was treated harshly by his former constituents. He was banished from Georgia and half of his property was confiscated. He retired to South Carolina. When Savannah was taken by the British and the royal government was re-established, in 1779, he was brought back by his congregation and resumed his work as a pastor, but he was a broken man. He died August 21, 1781.

One of his contemporaries, a Mr. Habersham, declared: "Dr. Zubly is a person of no mean parts and education. I may say his talents are extraordinary; but what is more, he is a faithful, zealous and laborious minister of the Gospel, and would to God our Colony or rather the whole world was filled with such."⁹

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS OF THE REV. JOHN JOACHIM ZUBLY, D.D.

1747-1778

1. Eine Leicht-Predig, welche ein Reformirter Prediger in Savannah in Georgien einem alten Lutherischen Prediger gehalten über die Worte Aproc. 7. Wer sind diese in weissen Kleidern. Germanton, gedruckt bey Christoph Saur. 1747.
2. Die wahre und falsche Bekehrung, und den Unterscheid zwischen beyden hat in einer Predig über Hoseas 7, Vers 16, vorgestellt und hernach dem Druck übergeben Johann Joachim Züblin, dissamahliger Pfarrer bey einer englischen Gemeinde ohnweit Carlesstadt in Süd Carolina. Germanton gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1747.
3. Evangelisches Zeugniß vom Elend und Erlösung der Menschen, in zwey Predigten abgelegt und auf Hoffnung mehrer Erbauung dem Druck übergeben von Johann Joachim Züblin, Prediger bey einer englischen Gemeinde ohnweit Carlesstadt in Süd Carolina. Germanton, gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1751. 52 p.

⁹ Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 266.

4. *The Real Christians Hope in Death; or An account of the edifying Behaviour of several persons of piety in their last moments. With a preface commendatory by the Rev. Mr. Clarke, Rector of St. Philips, Charlestown. Collected and published by J. J. Zubly, Minister of the Gospel in South-Carolina. Printed by Christopher Sauer, MDCCLVI, ix, 187 p. 12 mo.*
5. *The Stamp-act repealed; a sermon, preached in the meeting at Savannah in Georgia, June 25th, 1766. By J. J. Zubly, V. D. M. First published at the request and expence of the hearers. The 2d ed. Savannah: Printed by James Johnston, M,DCC,LXVI. 30 p. 18½ cm.*
6. *Apology for a law suit. [Savannah, Printed by James Johnston. 1767.]*
7. *An humble enquiry into the nature of the dependency of the American colonies upon the Parliament of Great-Britain, and the right of Parliament to lay taxes on the said colonies. By a Freeholder of South-Carolina. Printed in the year M,DCC,LXIX. (Savannah ? Printed by James Johnston ? 1769).*
8. *The peaceful end of the upright considered and improved: A funeral sermon, preached July 23, on the much lamented death of Joseph Gibbons, Esq., who died July 17, 1769, in the 46th year of his age. By J. J. Zubly, minister of the gospel at Savannah in Georgia. [Savannah: James Johnston, 1769.]*
9. *An account of the remarkable conversion of Zachiel Heishel from the Jewish to the Christian religion. [By J. J. Zubly ? .] Savannah: James Johnston, 1770.*
10. *A Letter to the Reverend Samuel Frink, A.M., Rector of Christ Church Parish in Georgia, relating to some Fees demanded of some of his dissenting Parishioners. [Savannah: Printed by James Johnston, 1770.]*
8 p. 15.5 cm. (Signed J. J. Zubly.) HEHL. McM No. 8
11. *Funeral sermon on the death of the Rev. George Whitefield. Philadelphia, printed by Henrich Miller, 1770.* (Evans)
12. *The nature of that faith without which it is impossible to please God, considered in a sermon, on Hebrews XI.6. Without faith it is impossible to please him. Together with some occasional remarks on some late writers: Also, an appendix, showing what has been the constant doctrine of the Protestants in the article of faith, and some vindication of the Reformers, and the late Mr. Hervey, &c. against animadversions of the Rev. Joseph Bellamy, D.D. of Bethlehem in New England. By J. J. Zubly, Minister of an English and German congregation at Savannah in Georgia. Savannah: Printed by James Johnston. 1772.*
19 cm. (2), 70 p.
13. *Calm and respectful thoughts on the negative of the crown on a speaker chosen and presented by the representatives of the people: occasioned by some publications in the Georgia Gazette, of May and June 1772, wherein the late Assembly of the province is charged with encroaching on the rights of the crown. By a freeman. Pro Rege & Patria semper. Buckingham's epitaph. [Savannah ? Printed by James Johnston ? 1772.]*
24 p. 21¼ cm. D. C. L.
14. *Sermon, preached on the death of the Rev. John Osgood, of Midway. Savannah: Printed by James Johnston, 1773.* Evans, 13090.
15. *Great Britain's right to tax her colonies placed in the clearest light, by a Swiss. [Savannah ? Printed by James Johnston ?, 1774.]*
16. *The law of liberty. A sermon on American affairs, preached at the opening of the Provincial congress of Georgia. Addressed to the Right Honourable*

- the Earl of Dartmouth. With an appendix, giving a concise account of the struggles of Swisserland to recover their liberty. By John J. Zubly. Philadelphia. Printed and sold by Henry Miller, 1775
XX, 41 p. 22½ cm.
17. Pious Advice. Sermon on Faith, 1775.
 18. Letter to Mr. Frink. Thoughts on the day of judgment. 1775.
 19. Exercitatio de nuptis virginis super adultae ad illustrandum locum I Cor. VII. 36. Carolopoli [Charlestown] 1775. Also in German, 1776. This is Zubly's doctor's thesis.
 20. To the Grand Jury of the County of Chatham, State of Georgia. Gentlemen, On the point of being (unjustly as I conceive) banished from this country, I think it is a debt due to those whom I shall leave behind, to point out the very fatal precipice toward which this state is, I think, now verging. —[At end]: To be had of William Lancaster and Dr. Zubly. Price 1d. (Savannah: Printed by William Lancaster, 1777. DLC. GaHS.
(22) p. 22 cm. Dated & signed at end: Savannah, Oct. 8, 1777, J. J. Zubly.

BARTHOLOMEW ZUBERBUHLER, JR.

1719–1774

The work of Bartholomew Zuberbuhler, Sr., was continued by his son, Bartholomew Zuberbuhler, Jr. After his father's death the people of Purysburg naturally turned to him.

Mr. Bartholomew Zuberbuhler, Jr., was baptized September 8, 1719, at Grub, Switzerland, where his father was pastor at that time. He seems to have come to South Carolina before his father, for under date February 19, 1736, the Lutheran pastors at Ebenezer write in their diary:

"Already some time ago we had handed [a copy of] our diary and some letters to a theological student, named Zoberbieler, from Switzerland, who intends to travel to Germany, but, as his departure has been delayed and he has secured new instructions from Governor Oglethorpe, regarding some Swiss to be brought over from St. Gall and other places, we sent our letters to a merchant in Charles-Town, who is willing to attend to the dispatch of our letters."¹

After noting the activity of Mr. Zuberbuhler, Sr., the Lutheran pastors turned their attention to the younger man. On November 3, 1739, they write:

"Governor Oglethorpe has also made promises to the student Zoberbüller, who after his father's death preached to the Reformed people at Purisburg on condition that he will also take care of the people at Palla-

¹ *Uralsperger Nachrichten*, I, 615.

chocolas, who moved to that place from New Windsor. He asked us to assist him with counsel and give him a testimonial as to his conduct and diligence."²

Shortly afterwards young Zuberbuhler visited Ebenezer and became personally acquainted with the Lutheran pastors there. They give the following report of his visit, in their diary under date December 7, 1739:

"Quite late this evening came young Zoberbiller from Purisburg to see us. He brought with him a German captain and a judge from there. He had a letter from Governor Oglethorpe to me, in which he stated that he intended to settle his barony at Pallachocolas, which is situated in Carolina, near Purisburg and close to Georgia, with some Swiss families from New Windsor and North Carolina, and that the Swiss had asked him for Mr. Zoberbiller as their Reader and Pastor, whom he had also appointed to that place. And as he desired to recommend him to us he would do it herewith and ask for our friendship, counsel, etc. We received him in love, but, as it was very late and he intended to continue his journey early in the morning, we had not much of an opportunity to speak with him."³

According to Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, (p. 217): "Bartholomew Zuberbuhler emigrated from St. Gall, Switzerland (where his father was a Swiss minister) to the colony of Purysburg. He received a good English and classical education at Charlestown."

In September, 1741, Mr. Zuberbuhler applied to Governor Oglethorpe to become pastor of the Reformed people in Savannah. In 1743 he made an attempt to displace the younger Giessendanner in the Orangeburg district. He applied to the Council of the colony, representing that there were many Germans at Orangeburg, who were very desirous to have the Word of God preached to them and requesting that he be sent to them and that he be supported with a competent salary until he could go to England to secure ordination from the Bishop of London, after which he proposed to visit Germany in order to secure more colonists, to whom it would be a great encouragement to have the gospel preached not only on their voyage, but also after their arrival in their new settlement. The petition was granted and £500 were voted to him out of the township fund, on condition that he secure a certificate from the inhabitants of Orangeburg and another certificate from the Ecclesiastical Commissary, the Rev. Mr. Garden, showing his qualifications to receive orders, and that he go to Germany and secure other settlers. With this supposed

² *Ibid.*, II, 278.

³ *Urtsperger Nachrichten*, II, 313.

authority he went to Mr. Giessendanner's parish. The result was that a counter petition to the Council was drawn up against him, signed by about eighty of the Orangeburg settlers, in which they declared that they were entirely satisfied with their pastor, Mr. Giessendanner, that they wished him to continue, and that the coming of Mr. "Zauberbuhler" would only cause trouble and confusion. Hence they prayed that Mr. Garden countermand his orders and that Mr. Giessendanner be permitted to continue his ministry among them. This petition was granted and Mr. Zuberbuehler was reprimanded because his conduct "had not been with the candor that might be expected from one who designed to take on holy orders."⁴ The Council also threatened to cut off half his allowance, unless he bring over the colonists as he had agreed.

Mr. Zuberbuehler actually went to London in 1745, where he was ordained by the Bishop of London. He was sent out by the Trustees of Georgia as a missionary to Georgia. He arrived at Frederica on January 22, 1746.⁵ He served as pastor at Savannah from 1746 to 1766.

In 1754 John Tobler described Savannah as follows: "On the borders between Carolina and Georgia lies the city of Savannah, one of the best places in Georgia. Commerce is there in a very flourishing condition. Mr. Zuberbuehler of Teuffen is there the English and German minister. He receives a salary of more than one thousands florins of our money."

Mr. Zuberbuehler died, according to the Appenzell Chronicle, in 1774.

CHRISTIAN HENRY RAUCH

1718-1763

The ablest worker in the Union Movement of Zinzendorff was Christian Henry Rauch, whose autobiography in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem furnishes us with the main facts of his life.

Christian Henry Rauch was born at Bernburg, in the County of Anhalt, Germany, on July 5, 1718. His mother was a sister of Mrs. Bademacher, a member of the Moravian church. Hence there was an early contact with Moravian influence. Even in his tender youth Rauch experienced the working of God's spirit on his heart. He was converted, according to his own testimony, at Wolgast, in Swedish Pomerania, on December 31, 1738. He left that place in June, 1739, to visit the Moravian

⁴ The entries in the Journal of the Council are given in full in Bernheim, *History*, 111-118.

⁵ See Stevens, *History of Georgia*, 359.

congregation at Marienborn, where he arrived August 2, 1739. He was received as a member of the congregation on November 19, 1739.

Shortly before that time a letter from Pennsylvania had reached Marienborn, which changed Rauch's life completely. It had been written by A. G. Spangenberg from Towamensing, Pennsylvania, on November 19, 1737. This letter, when it was read at Marienborn, induced Rauch and several other young men to dedicate their lives as missionaries to the Indians in North America. In this letter Spangenberg related an experience of Conrad Weiser, which occurred on his journey to the Onondaga Indians in the winter of 1736-37. He was apparently acquainted with the journal of Weiser for he quotes him in the first person:

"On the 9th of April [1737], I found myself extremely weak through the fatigues of so long a journey [of 500 miles] with cold and hunger which I had suffered. There having fallen a fresh snow of about twenty inches deep, and we being three days' journey from Onondaga, in a frightful wilderness, my spirit failed, my body trembled and shook and I thought I would fall down and die. I stepped aside and sat down under a tree, expecting to die. My companions soon missed me, The Indians came back and found me sitting there. They remained silent for a while. The old Indian [Shikellimy] said: 'My dear companion, thou hast hitherto encouraged us; wilt thou now give up? Remember that evil days are better than good days, for when we suffer much we do not sin; *sin will be driven out of us by suffering* and God cannot extend his mercy to the former but contrariwise. when it goeth evil with us, God has compassion on us.' These words made me ashamed. I rose up and traveled as well as I could."¹

No doubt Rauch and his companions thought that a man who had such an insight into the truth was not far from the kingdom of God. Let us preach the Christian Gospel to him and his people. Thus the missionary was born in Rauch.

"On November 8, 1739," Rauch states in his autobiography, "I received the Word of the Lord to be the witness of his passion and death among the Indians in North America. On the 14th of November I was commissioned to this work; on the 31st of December I began my journey from Marienborn to New York." On January 10, 1740, he reached Herrendyk, in Holland, where he stayed with the Moravian congregation for ten weeks. He reached London on April 5th and embarked for New York May 5th, with Captain Bryant. He arrived safely in New York July 21st. On August 5th he spoke for the first time with two Mohicans, Tschoop and Shabash (later his first converts), who invited him to visit them at

¹ Quoted by Reichel, *Memorials*, 80f. See also *Conrad Weiser*, by Paul A. W. Wallace, (Phila., 1945), 89.

Shekomeka, twenty miles south-east of Rhinebeck. On August 29th he arrived at Shekomeko,² near the border of Connecticut. For a welcome the Indians, who were all drunk, threatened him with a beating. But Rauch stood his ground and set to work immediately to learn the Mohican language, with such good results that on Good Friday, 1741, he was able to deliver the first sermon to them in their language. Gradually he won the confidence of the Indians, especially that of Tschoop, whose hut he first entered and to whom he told the story of God's redemption through Jesus Christ, with such conviction that he made a lasting impression upon him. Then, as Tschoop himself states, "he [Rauch] lay down upon a board in my hut and fell asleep, for he was tired from his journey. I thought, what kind of a man is this? There he lies and sleeps soundly. I could kill him and throw him into the forest. Who would ask about him? But he is without worry. I could not get rid of his words. They penetrated ever more deeply, and when I fell asleep, I dreamed about the blood of Christ, which he had shed for us."³

Meanwhile one of the neighboring farmers, named Rau, had become so impressed with the importance of Rauch's work that he offered him room and board, if he would stay with him and educate his children. The missionary accepted this invitation as an evidence of God's providence and so became a school-teacher in addition to being a missionary to the Indians. In spite of the determined opposition of many white people, who would rather see the Indians drunk than Christians, Rauch continued his work at Shekomeko and soon gathered a number of young men who were interested in the Christian faith. To make better progress with them, he began teaching them the Dutch language, in order that they might better understand him and be interpreters for the Dutch settlers near them.

In June, 1741, Rauch made his first visit to Bethlehem, where he gave such a glowing account of the progress of the work and its prospects for the future that Bishop David Nitschmann determined to accompany him back to his post, to get a personal view of the situation. At the same time the congregation at Bethlehem concluded to give Rauch some assistants, first Martin Mack, later Gottlob Buettner, who was sent to Shekomeko to invite Rauch to a Union Synod to be held at Oley, Pa., February 21-22, 1742. Three of the converted Indians—Shabasch, Seim, and Kiop—asked permission to accompany the brethren, which was granted. When they reached Oley, Henry Rauch and his assistant, Gottlob Buettner, to-

² We follow the dates in his autobiography, which are new style.

³ See G. H. Loskiel, *Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern in Nord Amerika*. (Barley, 1789), 226.

gether with John Christopher Pylaeus, who was also to be sent to Shekomoko, were ordained by Bishop Nitschmann and Count Zinzendorf. Then, the three Indians were baptized, in the barn of John de Turck, by Henry Rauch, and were given the names Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. They were the first Indian converts of the Brethren. Tschoop, who was lame at the time and unable to accompany Rauch on this journey, came to Bethlehem at a later time and was baptized on that occasion. In August, 1742, Zinzendorf himself, with a company of his followers, undertook the difficult and dangerous journey to Shekomoko. At this time the first Indian congregation was organized with ten members, all of whom were baptized. The mission at Shekomoko prospered, so that by the end of the year 1743 it consisted of 63 baptized members.

But, at the same time, the opposition of the white people to this work increased steadily. The missionaries were accused of being French Jesuits in disguise, plotting with the Indians for an attack on the white settlers. The excitement became so great that in September, 1744, the Colonial Assembly passed an act ordering "that no vagrant preacher, Moravian or Disguised Papist, should preach or teach either in public or private, without first taking the oaths appointed by this act and that no person or persons whatsoever shall take upon themselves to reside among the Indians under pretense of bringing them over to the Christian faith."⁴ This act brought the missionary work among the Indians to a stop. The missionaries were withdrawn and a part of the Indians were transferred to Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile Rauch had married Anna Robbins, on December 13, 1742, at which occasion Zinzendorf himself officiated.

In 1745 Rauch began his work among the Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania, assisting, or rather supervising, the work of Jacob Lischy. Extensive diaries of both Lischy and Rauch have been preserved, which give the details of their itinerant missionary labors. The diaries of Rauch cover February 5-26, 1745; Feb. 6-Nov., 1746; and Jan. 23-June 30, 1747. They visited and preached at the following twelve places: Muddy Creek, Bern and Heidelberg [township, Berks County], Tulpehocken, Swatara, Quittopahilla, Donegal, Warwick, Lancaster, Earltown, Coventry, and Goshenhoppen. Later, especially in 1746 and 1747, the itinerary of Rauch was enlarged to take in the German settlements beyond the Susquehanna; namely, York, Creutz Creek, Conewago, Monocacy, Conogochegue, and Bermudian. In some of these places Rauch anticipated the visits of Schlatter in 1747 and 1748.

In August, 1749, Rauch accepted a call to the Moravian congrega-

⁴ See Wm. Reichel, *Early History*, 213.

tion at Warwick, now Lititz, in Lancaster County. He served this and neighboring congregations till 1750. Then he became pastor of the Moravian congregation at Salem, North Carolina, from 1755 to 1756. Towards the end of the latter year he was sent to Jamaica, to labor among the negroes of that island. In this work he continued faithfully to the end of his life. He died November 11, 1763.

His work among the Reformed congregations as itinerant preacher was limited to the years 1745-1747.

FREDERICK CASIMIR MUELLER

Reformed historians have had a difficult time in recognizing and identifying Frederick Casimir Mueller. He has had the unusual distinction of passing through history under three different names, and it was believed that the three names represented three different persons, but two of them proved to be ghost names. The case is so unique that an effort to unravel the tangle seems to be in order.

In 1844 the Rev. Henry Wagner, pastor of the Lebanon Charge, which included among other congregations Hill Church, near Annville, preached a "Short History of the Hill Church in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania." This history was published in 1855 by his successor, the Rev. Dr. F. W. Kremer, at Chambersburg. In it Wagner refers to a "Mr. Frederick," who followed Tempelman as pastor of that church after 1760. He states that he was a Swiss preacher, a man of high spirit and hasty temperament, who could not suit himself to the manners and customs of this country and after some time returned to Europe (p. 4). Thus Dr. Harbaugh recorded him in his *Fathers*, II, 384.

Many years later the diary of the Moravian Church at Lebanon, known as the "Hebron Diary," was brought to the knowledge of Reformed historians. There it was found that the pastor who followed Mr. Tempelman was not Mr. Frederick, but Frederick Mueller. On July 1, 1762, the Moravian diarist writes: "Today Pastor Frederick Mueller visited me, who, after a mutually beneficial conversation invited me most kindly to his house." This is the first of a number of references to Frederick Mueller, which make it clear that he was the Reformed pastor in Lebanon. Thus Mr. Frederick Mueller entered Reformed history. Finally Dr. Harbaugh recognized also a Frederick Casimir Mueller, who in 1748 was pastor in Longswamp (*Fathers*, II, 380).

Thus there were three Muellers, who were given a place in Reformed history. (See Good, *History*, 517, 649, n.)

Now the actual facts are that all three names represent but one person. The handwriting of Frederick Casimir Mueller appears in a number of church records, together with his signature, "Frederick C. Müller." Thus, in the Brownback record, Chester County, he heads a number of baptisms with the statement: "List of the children and persons who were incorporated through Holy Baptisms into the Lord Jesus. . . . Pro tempore Frederick Casimir Mueller." When the Lebanon record was examined by the writer, it was found that the minister to make the first entries in 1764 was none other than Frederick C. Mueller. Not only was the writing his well-known scribble, but, to clinch the case, the name of "Friedrich C. Müller" appeared in the first baptism (as well as in several later entries) as sponsor. There can be no mistaking his script. The reference to him as a Swiss pastor is a confusion between him and Andrew Loretz, a later pastor, who was a Swiss and actually returned to his home land.

When Frederick C. Mueller appeared in Lebanon in 1752, he had behind him a checkered career. He had arrived in Philadelphia on the ship "Phoenix," qualifying on October 20, 1744. Soon afterwards he appeared as a Reformed preacher. On July 7, 1745, he entered his first baptism in the New Goshenhoppen record. From that date to April, 1750, he was active in Goshenhoppen. When George Michael Weiss returned from the State of New York to his first charge, Goshenhoppen, Mueller opposed his ministry and headed a faction in the congregation against him.

Mr. Schlatter, the organizer of the Coetus of Pennsylvania, met Mueller at Oley for the first time on September 23, 1746. Schlatter found that Mueller was then serving about ten congregations in and about Oley. "At that time," Schlatter writes, "he appeared to me rather favorable, and, in view of your Reverence's counsel, I made him the following proposition, in the presence of Do. Weiss: Whether, if he were a true Reformed man, he would from now on abstain from administering the Lord's Supper and from uniting people in marriage, until I had written to the Reverend Fathers and received their answer, whether the Reverend Synods deemed it wise that, like Do. Boehm in former years, he be ordained by the Coetus and installed as a regular minister in a regular congregation. To this he heartily agreed, but on the following Sunday, through God's wonderful providence, he made himself unworthy of the good opinion I had formed about him. For he baptized children as before and announced the administration of the Lord's Supper in four weeks. Hence I lost all desire to write to you on his behalf."

On October 19, 1746, Weiss and Schlatter met at Goshenhoppen to heal, if possible, the division in that congregation, but their efforts proved fruitless. One curious device was employed by Schlatter to find out the

size of Mueller's following. He asked those who favored Mueller to raise their hands; when they refused to do that, he asked the followers of Weiss to put on their hats. In this way he discovered that the adherents of Mueller numbered eighteen, while the followers of Weiss were found to be thirty. "But," writes Schlatter, "Although we did not succeed at this time, the Lord interposed some time afterwards (in April, 1750) and restored order."

Shortly after his visit to Goshenhoppen Schlatter received a letter from Mueller. As it is the only letter of his that has survived and as it reveals his independent, defiant spirit, we give it in full:

"Goshenhoppen, October 18, 1746.

"I have thought much about you, since I saw you and heard you at Goshenhoppen, for the reason that I expect you to organize everything in good order. You ought to know that church questions cannot be treated as secular affairs, which was nevertheless done. At the City Hall I saw how people were asked to raise their hands or make a sign with their hats. That is the way it looked at your organization, to the amusement of the sects.

"I do not wish to make you proud, but simply write you the thoughts of my heart. I care little or nothing whether you send a petition to Holland or not, nor will I allow you to forbid me anything. If I need a petition, my congregations are willing to draw it up themselves, for they can give the best testimonial regarding me. I am ready to submit to an honorable Church Council as well as to you and take as much interest in it as you. I shall have good help and no one can drive me away from the congregations which love me heartily. You should know that neither money nor anything else will induce me to give up the congregation, even if Mr. Weiss's salary for two years were offered to me. You promised to secure me a place as a school-teacher. I hope you will stand by your word, but if you are unable, because you can issue no command which the farmers must respect, I shall look for a place myself. I wish you heartfelt humility from Him who can give you abundantly. I shall report the outcome of the affair to the Rev. Mr. Bruynings in Amsterdam, whom I know and love heartily.

"Your ever ready (servant)
Frid. Casimir Mueller."

Towards the end of the year 1746 Schlatter reported about Mueller to Holland. He stated that Mueller came from Stetichheim, near Mayence, and had been a schoolmaster at his home. Both of these statements (no doubt derived from Mueller himself) seem to be false. For, in the first place, there is no such place as Stetichheim near Mayence, and second, the handwriting of Mueller is so wretched, that it is difficult to believe that any German congregation would have been willing to employ him as a schoolteacher.

Schlatter also reported that Mueller was serving ten congregations

in and about Oley, in Berks County. Unfortunately the oldest surviving church record at Oley goes back only to the year 1763 and sheds no light on the earlier period. But in other church records we can trace his activity.

In 1745 we find Mueller at Hain's Church, at Wernersville, Berks County. On December 30, 1745, he began a series of baptisms in the church record of that congregation. They extend to August, 1748. But in the financial accounts we can trace his presence there till April 1750.

We next find him at Bern, Berks County, where a number of baptisms by him have the following heading: "Register of the children entered by me, Frederick Casimir Mueller, at this time pastor." This heading is followed by twenty-five baptisms, the last of which is dated November 7, 1746. But the ministry of Mueller at Bern probably extended to 1752.

In 1748 Mueller appeared at Longswamp, Berks County. In the history of the Longswamp congregation, entered into the record about 1768 by the then schoolmaster, Jacob Weimer, he states: "After having completed this church to the honor of God and for their own salvation, they called the Rev. Fririg Casemer Miller to dedicate this house and they accepted him as their preacher, who served them for some time." How long he preached at Longswamp cannot be made out with certainty, but it was probably until 1752.

In October, 1752, the minutes of the Coetus report that Mueller was causing trouble to the Rev. John Waldschmidt at Muddy Creek, where a part of the congregation supported him. The record of the Muddy Creek Church reveals the fact that from May, 1751, to August, 1752, he entered twenty-five baptisms into that record.

In October, 1753, an application was made to the rival Coetus, held at that time at Cocalico, in Lancaster County, to acknowledge and consider as a regular minister Frederick Casimir Mueller. But it was unanimously decided in the negative, "with the additional warning (to the congregations) to be on their guard against such a man." All sorts of rumors were flying about him, to which Saur's newspaper gave wide circulation. In spite of this Mueller continued to serve Reformed congregations.

In February, 1753, Mueller's name appears in the church record at Brownback's Church, Coventry Township, Chester County. (Now unfortunately lost, but not before it was examined and partly copied by the writer.) His baptisms there (which extend from February 18, 1753, to November 15, 1761) are preceded with his usual heading, which has already been quoted.

From Coventry Mueller came to Lebanon early in 1762. On July 1, 1762, his name appears for the first time in the Hebron Diary, as noted

above. But a much more important entry is found under date July 18, 1762:

"On July 18, 1762, in the afternoon, Bro. Zahm and I [Bro. Langgaard] at the kind invitation of the Rev. Mr. Mueller, went to attend the dedication of the newly-built Reformed church in Lebanon." Some time later, November 24, 1764, Mueller opened the oldest church record of the Lebanon congregation, with his customary heading: "In the name of the Holy Trinity, God the Father, the Son and Holy Ghost, to whom be honor and praise now and forever more. Amen." This heading and the entries that follow are clearly in Mueller's script and his name actually appears several times as witness.

Little is known about the ministry of Mueller at Lebanon. On September 23, 1764, the Moravian pastor, Mr. Zahm, and his wife visited the wife of Pastor Mueller, at her request, because she was sick. "She passed away trusting upon the merits of Jesus Christ." On September 28th the Moravian pastor attended her funeral. In the Hebron Diary is recorded another visit of the Moravian pastor in town, on May 27, 1765. He called on sister Veronica Leitold, the mother-in-law of pastor Mueller, who was sick.

How long Mueller ministered to the congregation is not known. On April 5, 1766, he entered his last baptisms at Lebanon. But four other baptisms from May to December, 1766, may have been performed by him, although the entries were made by another hand, just as poor as his. In Quittopahilla, near Annville, his entries run from 1761 to February, 1766. At Swatara, however, his baptisms run, according to the notes of the writer, from April, 1762, to July 3, 1768. If that is correct, it marks most likely the extent of his ministry. The fact that the Moravian pastors speak well of Mueller seems to show that he mellowed with age.

JOHN BRANDMUELLER (BRANDMILLER)

1704-1777

One of the lesser lights in the union movement of Zinzendorf was John Brandmiller, whom Bishop Cammerhoff, in one of his letters, called "A weak little brother, who needs love and a hearty treatment." He left behind him a short autobiography, which we follow in our sketch.

John Brandmiller (or, to use the original name, Brandmueller) was born at Basle, Switzerland, November 24, 1704. His father, of like name, was bookkeeper there; his mother was Anna Spaerlin. Young John was

confirmed in his thirteenth year. Shortly afterwards he was put under the care of an uncle to learn the printing business. Being of a restless disposition, he ran away to Holland. He tried to enlist on an East-India ship, but the company refused to accept him. The innkeeper with whom he stayed recommended him as servant to a German baron, who wanted to travel to Turkey, but, when they reached Treves (Trier), the baron found a better servant and dismissed Brandmiller. Then he resolved to return home. On the way, in Lorraine, he fell in with a number of Swiss officers, in French army service. They persuaded him to enlist as a soldier. After six weeks his company was stationed near a swamp, where two-thirds of the soldiers fell sick and died. Brandmiller also contracted the fever and was taken to a hospital, where he came near death, but recovered slowly after some time. One day his captain handed him a letter from his father. After reading it he resolved to write to his father and, like the prodigal son, ask his forgiveness and permission to come home. His father soon secured his release and he returned home, where, to his great surprise, he was received with many tears and open arms.

Then he completed his apprenticeship with his uncle and after several excursions as journeyman returned to his father. In March, 1735, he married Anna Maria Burkhardt. Their union was blessed with three children, two of whom died in infancy. Having read a description of Herrnhut, he made up his mind to see it, and, in March 1738, visited that place. After a stay of five weeks he returned by way of Jena and Marienborn, where he met Zinzendorf. The result was that he determined to settle at Herrnhag. To that place he moved with his family in March 1739.

In 1741 he joined the so-called "First Sea Congregation" to Pennsylvania, arriving in Philadelphia June 7, 1742. After a stay of six months in Pennsylvania, he returned to Germany to fetch his family, which he had left in the Wetterau district. He stayed at Herrnhag, near Frankfort-on-the-Main, till the "Second Sea Congregation" was ready to leave for Pennsylvania in May, 1743. They sailed in the Moravian ship "Little Strength," leaving Cowes, England, September 27 and arriving at New York November 26, 1743.

Brandmiller settled first at Bethlehem, acting there as steward, or deacon, of the congregation until the spring of 1745, when he was sent as an itinerant missionary to the Reformed congregations. On April 8, 1745, he left Bethlehem. He preached his first sermon at Nicholas Kissel's, near Lancaster, on April 12th. His circuit included Warwick, Kissel's, and Donegal, in Lancaster County, and Coventry, in Chester County. On April 28th, while crossing the Susquehanna, his canoe upset and he was nearly drowned. On May 2 (or May 13, n.s.), 1745, he was ordained

at Philadelphia. In September, 1745, he was sent to Allemaengel, Swatara, and Donegal, to supply these and neighboring congregations. His diaries from Sept. 1 to Sept. 24, 1745, and from Oct. 26, 1745 to Jan. 11, 1746, describe in detail his missionary activity among the Reformed congregations.

In January and February, 1747, and again in March and April, 1748, Brandmiller visited the Walloons at Esopus and New Paltz, in the state of New York. From October 2 to December 24, 1749, he made a longer journey, with Leanord Schnell, to the Germans in Virginia.

In 1759 he removed with his wife to Friedensthal, where for eight and a half years he served as Reader (Lector). In 1768 he returned to Bethlehem. During the later part of his life Brandmiller acted repeatedly as printer for the Moravian Church. Thus, between 1760 and 1763, he printed a *Harmony of the Gospels*, a manual used in the church during passion week; also a *Hymn Book*, translated into the language of the Delaware Indians by the Rev. Bernard A. Grube; and in 1767 the *Taegliche Loosungen*, or "Daily Reading Lessons," consisting of verses of Scripture and poetry and brief mottoes.

Brandmiller died August 16, 1777, drowning accidentally in a mill-race. The diarist at Bethlehem states that the previous day had been hot and sultry. Brandmiller had gone down to the water to bathe his face. While doing this he was overcome by vertigo and fell into the water.

Though of minor importance, Brandmiller filled his humble place in the church to the best of his ability.

JOHN JACOB RIESS

1706-1774

John Jacob Riess was born April 10, 1706, in Germany, but the exact place has not yet been ascertained. He arrived at Philadelphia on the ship "Robert and Alice," Martley Cusack, master, from Rotterdam, and qualified September 24, 1742, signing his name as "Johann Jacob Riess." With him came John George and Lorentz Riess, probably brothers or relatives, and also Philip Fackenthal, ancestor of the late Dr. B. F. Fackenthal, Jr., of Riegelsville, Pennsylvania.

Riess settled in Rockhill Township, Bucks County. He appears first in Reformed Church history on August 27, 1749, when he entered a baptism in the Tohickon Church record, giving it the following superscription:

"Church Record of the Reformed congregation on the Tohickon in

Bedminster Township. By me were entered these children, whom I, Jacob Riess, baptized." Riess entered 165 baptisms in the record, but no marriages or burials. It was during his ministry that the first church land was bought at Tohickon. On September 1, 1753, Blasius Boyer conveyed to Jacob Ress, Rockhill Township, Clerk, Martin Shaffer (clerk),¹ Ludwig Wildanger, Adam Dany, Rudolph Drach, Frederick Salendin, Nickolas Weichel, Balthasar Ehrbach, one and a quarter acres and sixteen perches. On the 6th of September, 1753, the parties above named gave a deed of trust to the trustees of the Lutheran and Calvinist congregations in Rockhill Township, on which land a church had been built.

The activity of Riess was confined to Tohickon, but comprised several neighboring churches. One of them was Lower Saucon. In the Tohickon record, Rev. John Egidius Hecker entered twelve baptisms, from January, 1750, to July, 1752, which Riess performed at Saucon; but it is likely that Riess's ministry at Saucon extended, as at Tohickon, to 1756.

The charge of Riess comprised also Indian Creek. He preached there apparently from June, 1753, to August, 1766. Between these dates he entered 256 baptisms in the Indian Creek record.

In 1760 Riess became pastor at Springfield, in Bucks County, the church being located near Pleasant Valley post office. He baptized the first child there August 24, 1760, and the last November 2, 1763, officiating during that time at 47 baptisms. It is probable that here, as at Indian Creek, his ministry extended to 1766, for no successor to Riess appears at Springfield till the latter year.

In 1764 Riess accepted several other congregations farther south, in the Goshenhoppen region. At New Goshenhoppen his baptismal entries run from October, 1765, to January, 1766, though it is certain from other evidence that his pastorate there began sooner and ended later. The minutes of Coetus of May 8-9, 1765, report Riess at Goshenhoppen. At Old Goshenhoppen he seems to have entered his first baptism on June 5, 1764, and his last on March 15, 1766. That was probably the extent of his ministerial activity in the Goshenhoppen region. Although his name does not appear in the Great Swamp record, we know that he preached there, for the Coetal minutes of September 3-4, 1766, report that "Old Goshenhoppen as well as at Great Swamp have dismissed their shoemaker, Ries by name. They earnestly request that we provide them with a minister." When this report reached the Fathers in Holland, they replied that Mr. Frederick Daelliker be sent as pastor to these congregations. This suggestion was, however, not carried out.

¹ Clerk, from Latin *clericus*, cleric, was used for minister.

On September 24, 1760, Jacob Ries, of Rockhill Township, was naturalized by the Supreme Court, held at Philadelphia.²

After the year 1766 Riess retired from the active ministry, for his name is not found in any church record after that date. However, he continued his interest in his churches, for at his death he left £10 to the trustees at Indian Creek, for the instruction of poor children.

To judge from his entries in the various records, the work of Riess was done faithfully and to the best of his ability; at any rate he supplied churches which but for his preaching would have been for years without pastoral care. Formerly these independent ministers were looked down upon as religious tramps, without training and consecration. Some no doubt deserve that harsh judgment, but others did a useful work, even if they did not enjoy official recognition.

Riess lived in retirement on his farm in Rockhill Township until his death. His tombstone in the Tohickon Cemetery has a German inscription, which may be translated as follows into English:

Here rests in God
JACOB RIESZ
Late Reformed Preacher
Born April 10, 1706
Died December 23, 1774

His last will and testament is recorded in the Register of Wills Office in Philadelphia. It was signed on October 13, 1769, and probated on January 3, 1775. He left his property to his wife, Mary Catharine, his son-in-law, Peter Henry, and his daughter Mary. The inventory of his estate shows that he was a fairly well-to-do man, according to the standards then prevailing,³ and that, as the Coetus minutes state, he was a shoemaker, as his shoemaker's tools are mentioned in the inventory.

LEWIS FERDINAND VOCK

1690——?

Lewis Ferdinand Vock was one of the numerous class of preachers who appeared upon the scene for a short time and then disappeared without leaving any further traces behind them.

² See *Publications of the Huguenot Society of London*, XXIV, (1921).

³ The will and inventory of his estate are printed in full in the writer's *History of the Tohickon Union Church, 1745-1854*, 24-28.

Earlier historians knew nothing about the European antecedents of Vock, but some facts have come to light recently through researches at Heidelberg by Prof. Dr. L. Lemme.

First of all, it was found that "Ludovicus Ferdinandus Vock" had matriculated at Heidelberg University on November 20, 1708, giving Heidelberg as his home. This led to the discovery of his parents and some other facts of his early life.

In the marriage record of the Church of the Holy Ghost at Heidelberg, 1649-1692, it is recorded that "on May 4, 1687, John Leonhard Fock, innkeeper, son of the late John Fock, town clerk at Amweiler, was married to Johanna Catharina, daughter of John Peter Klinger, councillor of this place." Their eldest son, Ludwig Ferdinand, was baptized November 15, 1690.

The burial record of the Holy Ghost Church shows that on September 23, 1748, Barbara Vock, nee Karch, died and was buried September 25th, the wife of Mr. Ferdinand Vock, formerly pastor at Weissel. The latter place must be Weisel, a village near Kaub, on the Rhine.

Vock came to America on his own responsibility. He was not sent by the Synods of Holland. The first reference to him in Pennsylvania is found in a letter of the Rev. John Philip Leydich to Mr. Schlatter, dated November 27, 1749, in which Leydich asked that Vock be sent to Providence to teach school during the winter and to preach for Leydich occasionally, which would give him (Leydich) an opportunity of becoming acquainted with him.

Schlatter was on the point of granting this request when Rev. John Conrad Steiner, who had arrived in Philadelphia from Holland on September 25, 1749, and had been designated as pastor at Lancaster, refused to accept this appointment, which left Lancaster vacant. The Lancaster congregation, being thus disappointed in their expectations, appealed to Schlatter for help. In this emergency Schlatter's thoughts turned to Vock and he offered him to the Lancaster congregation as a temporary supply. The Lancaster people, through an elder, Paul Weitzel, immediately accepted this offer, on December 31, 1749. Hence, on January 18, 1750, Schlatter wrote to Lancaster, informing them that Vock was willing to come, Vock himself confirming this statement in a postscript to Schlatter's letter.

When Vock reached Lancaster, the congregation made an agreement with him to the effect that they would engage him for one year, with a salary of £40, and the use of the parsonage, together with an allowance of six cords of fire-wood. The baptisms of Vock at Lancaster begin on January 28, 1750, and extend to January 8, 1751. During that period he entered forty-six baptisms. On January 29, 1750, Vock called upon the

Lutheran pastor at Lancaster, the Rev. John Frederick Handschuh, who writes in his diary of January 29, 1750 as follows about him:¹

"On the 29th of January [1750] I received a visit from the newly arrived Reformed minister, who has been appointed to this place. He is already an aged man.² We conversed principally on the pure and disinterested motives which must be possessed by an evangelical preacher in this country, if he would accomplish anything for the upbuilding of Christ's kingdom. I am not a little delighted that the Reformed people have now also secured a pastor of their own."

His ministry at Lancaster was not successful, As early as July 22, 1750, the Moravian minister at Lancaster reports in his diary:

"July 22nd, 1750. To-day the Reformed minister suddenly preached his farewell sermon, and wept because the people do not want him any longer."

"August 19th, 1750. We heard today that the party which is opposed to the Reformed minister in this place have quietly permitted him and his adherents to go into the church."

The opponents of Vock, thirty-four in number, had drawn up a paper in which they declared that they would not continue with pastor Vock after the termination of the year 1750.

On the 13th of December, 1750, the Coetus of Pennsylvania joined the chorus of disapproval, when it sent the following resolution to the Lancaster congregation:

"You will obligate yourselves to dismiss your present pastor, Mr. Fock,³ as soon as the term of his engagement, being a year, comes to an end, he having been admitted to the services of the ministry only for the time being, and being everywhere in evil repute because of his conduct. As a proof that you accept this our salutary demand, you will immediately send a call to his Reverence, Do. Schlatter, that you may be taken care of. Meanwhile the brethren, Dos. Leydich, Weiss, and Lischy, have been commissioned by our Coetal assembly, after the dismissal of Mr. Fock, to conduct church services among you, whenever they can find opportunity of getting away from their congregations."

What became of Vock after January 1751 is not known; he simply disappeared from view.

¹ *Hallesche Nachrichten*, 545f.

² This agrees with the Heidelberg record, according to which he was 60 years of age in 1750.

³ Vock always signed his name as "Vock."

JOHN RUDOLPH KIDENWEILER (KITTWEIFER)

1716-1764

"Hans Rudolph Kittweiler" landed at Philadelphia on the ship "Ann," John Spurier, master, from Rotterdam. The 96 signers to the oath of allegiance are called "foreigners from Basel, Wirtemberg, Zweibruecken, and Darmstadt." They qualified September 28, 1749. As Kittweiler was later known as the "Swiss preacher," it is natural to connect him with the first group which came from Basel, Switzerland.

A letter addressed to the State Archives at Basel brought the following answer from Dr. August Huber, state archivist, dated March 7, 1922:

"With Johann Rudolph Kidenweiler or Kittweiler is probably identical Johannes Rudolph Kindweiler, who was baptized May 26, 1716, at St. Elizabeth Church, Basel. His parents were Hans Jacob Kindweiler, cooper, b. 1671, and Anna Katharina, nee Spörlein. These parents had been married at Basel on November 6, 1692. John Rudolph was the youngest of ten children. The father died June 19, 1759, the mother February 16, 1741."

As this John Rudolph Kindweiler is the only person in Basel with whom John Rudolph Kittweiler could be identical, Dr. Huber concluded that the date of January 2, 1717, found on his tombstone, must be a mistake.

In this country we find Kittweiler first in the Weissenberg congregation, Weissenberg Township, Lehigh County. Dr. William Helffrich in his *Geschichte verschiedener Gemeinden in Lecha und Berks Counties*, 41, has this to say about the origin of this congregation and its first pastor:

"Hans Rudolph Kittweiler—also written Kidenweiler—was the founder of this congregation. He came to America in 1749 and as early as 1750 was in this congregation, where, at this settlement, he found numerous fellow-countrymen. He came from Basel, Switzerland, and was known as the 'Swiss preacher.' Even before the church was built he preached in private houses and, together with the Rev. Jacob Frederick Schertlein, dedicated the first church in 1754."

He served the Weisenberg Church probably till 1761, when he was succeeded by Philip Jacob Michael.

He appears next as pastor of the Longswamp congregation, in Berks County. In a historical sketch of this congregation, written by the then schoolmaster, Jacob Weimer, we find the following statement regarding Kittweiler, or Kidenweiler, as he writes the name:

"When the last named preacher [Philip Jacob Michael] took his departure, they accepted, about the middle of May, 1754, Mr. Rudolph Kidenweiler, who preached to the congregation for about seven and a half years. When he could not gain his end, he left the congregation in an obstinate spirit."

In 1759 Kittweiler became the first pastor of the Eastern Salisbury Church, Lehigh County, and took part in the dedication of the first church building there. The Rev. Daniel Schumacher, the first Lutheran pastor, has preserved the following record in the Lutheran Church book:

The Christian Evangelical Lutherans and Reformed, both adhering to the Protestant religion, have together erected a church in Salisbury Township, in the year of our Lord 1759. This church was built after the Indians had again ceased to burn and kill in this neighborhood, and by poor people only, who were, however, assisted by their brethren with small contributions.

The first preacher on the part of the Reformed congregation, at the dedication of this new church, was the Rev. Rudolph Kittweiler, popularly known as the 'Swiss preacher.' "

From Weissenburg and Longswamp Kittweiler went to the Great Swamp congregation, in what is now Lehigh County. The evidence of Kittweiler's presence at Great Swamp is twofold: In the first place, the account book of the congregation has the following entry: "Of the above mentioned money [collected] by Ulrich Spinner, there was paid to the wife of the Rev. Rudolph Gittenweiler the sum of £1.0.6." In the second place, there is in the graveyard attached to the Great Swamp Church the tombstone of Kittweiler, with the following inscription, as rendered into English:

"Here lies buried
the late Reformed preacher
JOHANN RUDOLPH KITTWEILER
His age was 47 years and 9 months.
Was born January 7, 1717.
Died October 2, 1764."

There is no evidence in the Swiss records that Kittweiler was ordained in Switzerland.

On October 18, 1768, Mr. David Schultz notes in his diary: "The account of Mrs. Kittweiler was settled." That seems to imply her death in 1768.¹

¹ See *Perkiomen Region, Past & Present*, III, 172.

JOHN HENRY DECKER

1730-1814

John Henry Decker has been one of the most elusive Reformed ministers, about whom only recently enough evidence has come to light for us to be able to write a connected story of his life.

As early as 1898 the writer secured a copy of the printed matriculation book of the Latin School at Hanau, Germany, in which he found the following entry:¹

“Johannes Henricus Decker, Markoebelo Hanoviensis, die 27. Martii 1750.”

It meant that on the above mentioned date, March 27, 1750, John Henry Decker entered the Latin School at Hanau, giving his home as Markoebel, then in the county of Hanau. Following up this clue, a letter was written to the pastor at Markoebel, inquiring about Decker. The records at that place revealed the fact that on August 20, 1730, John Jacob Decker and his wife Anna Maria brought a son to baptism, who had been born on August 17th. He was baptized John Henry, after his sponsor, John Henry Decker, a carpenter. Prof. Hermelink of Marburg University added the fact that in a church account of 1750 at Markoebel one guilder and fifteen groschen (one groschen about a dime) were granted to the student Decker to purchase books.

The studies of Decker were cut short, for on September 21, 1751, John Henry Decker and Johannes Decker, perhaps a brother, signed the oath of allegiance to the King of England at Philadelphia, having arrived on the ship “Two Brothers,” captain Thomas Arndt, master.

Shortly afterwards we find Decker active as a Reformed minister in Berks County. On January 1, 1752, he entered his first baptism in the Cacusi (or Hain’s Church record, in Lower Heidelberg Township, Berks County. From that date to March 21, 1756, he entered 22 baptisms. From January 21, 1752, to February 19, 1756, he signed the annual financial settlements of the congregation. These reveal his chirography, so that we are able to follow him in other records.

We find his name next as “Deckert,” in a list of ministers found in the Cocalico (now Bethany) Church at Ephrata. There he followed Waldschmidt, who concluded his ministry at Cocalico in 1762. How long he preached at Cocalico cannot be made out with certainty, perhaps a

¹ See *Illustris Scholae Hanoviensis Leges et Album Civium Academicorum, 1724-1812*, (Hanau, 1885), 34.

year or two. He was succeeded by Frederick Casimir Mueller, who was pastor at Lebanon from 1762 to 1766.

Finally we find him at Muddy Creek, in Lancaster County. Beginning with December 10, 1754, and extending to October 4, 1761, Decker entered 64 baptisms in that record. They are not only in his now well-known script, but, to make assurance doubly sure, he wrote the financial account on July 13, 1755, and signed it "Henrich Decker."

After 1761 Decker disappears from the region south of the Blue Mountains, and we supposed that he had died or given up his preaching, but in 1779 he appears on the tax list of Brunswick Township, Schuylkill County. The late Mr. C. W. Unger, of Pottsville, a dealer in old books and documents, had in his possession a *Taufschein* of Christina, daughter of Henrich Hauser and his wife Magdalena, born July 25, 1788, in New Brunswick Township and baptized there October 25, 1788, by the Rev. Henrich Deckert. This proves that he served as minister in Schuylkill County in 1788. Munsell's *History of Schuylkill County* states that Henry Deckert was pastor in 1797 of St. Peter's Church, in the town of Pinegrove.

From these records it appears that Decker ministered as pastor in Schuylkill County for at least two decades, 1780 to 1800, perhaps even longer—to the end of his life in 1814. In the cemetery adjoining St. John's Union Church at Friedensburg, Schuylkill County, Henrich Decker was buried. His tombstone has an inscription only partly decipherable, which reads:

"HENRICH DECKERT, Prediger,
b. in Germany 1730; d. January 18, 1814.
Aged 84 years 1 days."

Next to him lies his wife, Elizabetha, nee Eckert, born February 13, 1733, died May 9, 1807, aged 74 years, 2 months and 26 days. The church record of the Host Church in Berks County shows that Henry Decker had married Magdalena Elizabeth Eckert on May 10, 1753, the Rev. William Stoy officiating.

Thus we have traced for the first time the career of John Henry Decker, from his birth in 1730 to his death in 1814.²

² For the latter part of his life we are indebted to the researches of the late Mr. C. W. Unger, of Pottsville, Pa.

JOHN CASPER LAPP

John Casper Lapp was born September 18, 1724, at Windecken, in the principality of Hesse-Hanau. He was the son of Francis Lapp, a surgeon, and Dodothea, nee Schmidt. The parents were married at Windecken on April 2, 1704. There were nine children in the family, of whom John Casper was the youngest. He was confirmed April 20, 1730. His father died December 5, 1797.

Young John Casper matriculated in the Gymnasium [College] at Hanau on July 27, 1740, as "Johannes Casparus Lapp, Hanioco-Windocensis". He was ordained at the order of the Landgrave Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, then also King of Sweden, at Marburg, December 20, 1744. He then went to Neunkirchen, County of Sayn, where he served as assistant pastor to an old minister there, the Rev. Daniel Sell, till December 1745. From there he was transferred to Rabenscheid, in the County of Dillenburg, where he stayed for two years. On September 8, 1748, he asked for a dismissal, as he had been called to Niederweisel, in the County of Solms, where he ministered for a little more than four years. On April 29, 1753, he asked for a dismissal to go to America.

In a letter of April 1, 1756, he states that he had read the book of Schlatter, from which he learned of the many shepherdless Reformed congregations in Pennsylvania. This, together with his own impoverished condition, brought him to the decision to go to Pennsylvania. He left for Rotterdam, which he reached June 19, 1753, intending to present himself before the Deputies of the Holland Synods, but, finding a ship ready to sail on July 21st, he left Holland without meeting the Deputies.

He arrived at Philadelphia October 2, 1753, with his wife and a boy three years of age. He then realized the mistake he had made, for the Coetus of Pennsylvania was unable to do anything for him. However, soon afterwards he received a call to Amwell, New Jersey, through the intervention of the Rev. Mr. Rubel.

Lapp was installed in his congregation by the Dutch Reformed minister, John Frelinghuysen, of Raritan, N. J. On April 1, 1756, Lapp wrote a touching letter to the Deputies. He informed them of his past life, sent them copies of his laudatory testimonials, complained much about the conduct of Mr. Schlatter, taking sides with Rubel against Schlatter. Finally he asked the Deputies for reception into the Coetus and for financial help, as his salary was altogether inadequate. The Deputies answered sympathetically, but claimed they were unable to

assist him. His ministry at Amwell extended probably from 1753 to 1756. What became of him afterwards we do not know.

JOHN GASSER

We are introduced to this independent Reformed minister through the minutes of the Deputies of the Synods of Holland. Under date of May 30–31, 1755, these minutes state:

“Deputy Sandifort communicated the fact that he had with him a certain minister from South Carolina, named Johann Gasser, who had handed over to Do. Sandifort a document, having the following contents: The two congregations of the Upper and Lower [Santee] Forks in South Carolina have commissioned the Rev. Johannes Gasser and Mr. Joseph Crel, in order to seek loving advice, direction, and help from the German churches of the Heidelberg and Augsburg confession, which commission is dated Santee Forks, the 26th of December, 1754, signed by four elders of the Upper Forks and four elders of the Lower Forks and five witnesses.

“To it is added a declaration, dated April 28, 1755, through the Rev. Andrew Planta, preacher of the Reformed Church at London, and Casper Wetstein, court preacher of the Princess of Wales, stating that the above-mentioned petition was approved by the honorable Society of London for the care of the American Churches, which society has appointed the above-mentioned Rev. J. Gasser as their regular preacher at Santee Forks, and for the other congregation John Fred. von Hannover, intending also to appoint two schoolmasters and provide them with English books, to which end a collection has been taken.

“Further, Rev. Mr. Gasser was recommended, in his journey to Germany and Switzerland, to gather High German books. To which Do. Gasser himself added the request, in the name of the congregations of South Carolina, that the Deputies use their influence in order to unite the congregations of South Carolina, which number about 9080 members and are about 150 English or 50 Dutch hours distant from Pennsylvania, with the Coetus of Pennsylvania (although his Reverence is to receive his salary from England) merely for the sake of counsel and assistance and in order to introduce among them good order and regulations of the Coetus of Pennsylvania, so that they together with the churches of Pennsylvania may be dependent upon the two synods and the Classis of Amsterdam. This matter is to be considered at the next Coetus.”

On June 30, 1755, Gasser appeared before the Classical Commis-

sioners. Their minutes state that he was first a chaplain in a Swiss regiment, and was now appointed by the Royal Society of the American Churches, in London, to be minister of two congregations at Santee Forks, which number about 8000-9000 Germans. His papers were examined by the Commissioners and found to be in order. Hence he was recommended to the Honorable Consistory at Amsterdam for a contribution from the charity fund, for the purpose of buying Bibles at Halle, Germany, in order to send them in the best manner possible to South Carolina.

When Gasser reached Berne, Switzerland, the City Council there voted on September 25, 1755, that he be given some Bibles, Psalm books, and money. But the government refused his request, voting him instead a certain sum for traveling expenses. As they frowned on Swiss emigration to America, they advised him to leave the canton forthwith. When, in January, 1756, it was reported that he was soliciting persons at Interlaken to accompany him as emigrants, the Council ordered his arrest, which he, however, successfully evaded. His home is given as Steckborn, in Thurgau.¹ Unfortunately there are numerous John Gassers at Steckborn, so that, not knowing his age, we are unable to determine the date of his birth.

When Gasser returned to Holland in February, 1756, he informed the Deputies of the synods, under date February 5-7, 1756, that

"1. He had been successful in obtaining financial aid and Bibles, as well as catechisms, on his journey through Germany and Switzerland.

"2. That he had about 8000 Bibles in chests with him, which were to be sent via England to South-Carolina.

"3. He asked the Deputies for aid to have these books sent tariff-free to England. They advised him to address himself to Col. York, the English envoy, and to ask him to speak with Mr. Tagel, the Hon. Clerk of the English Court, regarding this case, and report the result to Deputy Pielat, who was also to lend a helping hand."

Gasser was also informed of the action of the Christian Synod, which had accepted him as a member of the Coetus of Pennsylvania, but with the stipulation that he was to receive no financial support. When this action of the Synod reached the Coetus of Pennsylvania, they replied, in November, 1757, that Mr. Gasser was a thoroughly dishonest man, who five years before had tried to join the Coetus, but that "knowing him to be a rascal they could not consent to his wishes." He had forced himself upon a certain congregation in Pennsylvania, but when his real character became known he was forced to leave, and had then gone to

¹ *Raths-Manuale* (at Berne), 239-241.

Carolina. From there he had traveled to Europe for the ostensible purpose of buying Christian books, but he had actually brought firearms to America. Mr. Stoy, the Clerk of Coetus, had met him on his return to Pennsylvania, about May, 1756, but Gasser had not uttered a word about the Fathers in Holland nor mentioned any letters given to him. (*Minutes of Coetus*, 159f.)

Finally, in March, 1758, after the Deputies had received more reports about Gasser, they agreed with the Coetus that he was not to be admitted as a member. What became of him afterwards is not known.

JOHN EGIDIUS HECKER

1726-1773

Hecker was an independent Reformed pastor whose history has been sadly neglected by Reformed historians. Dr. Harbaugh knew little about him, for he refers to him only incidentally in the sketch of his grandson, the Rev. Henry Koch (*Fathers*, III, 299). Dr. Dubbs added a little more to our knowledge (*Historic Manual*, 395). Dr. Good (*History*, 520), presented additional facts, which had been gathered by the present writer at Dillenburg in 1898. From the church records there the following facts have been gleaned.

John Egidius Hecker¹ was born at Dillenburg, January 26, 1726. He was the son of John Wigand Hecker, and his wife, Anna Juliana, who was of noble descent, because in one place of the records she is called "Thre hochfürstliche Durchlaucht" (*her princely Highness*). John Wigand Hecker was equerry to Prince Christian, the last of the Nassau-Dillenburg princes, who reigned 1724-1739. These parents had eight children, of whom John George and John Egidius, twins, were the 7th and 8th children respectively, born January 26 and baptized January 29, 1726. The name John Egidius was taken from that of his sponsor, John Egidius Eberhorn, of Wallen, in Hesse-Darmstadt.

When a young man, John Egidius attended the University of Herborn. A certificate, dated June, 1751, was in existence until recently in Allentown, in the hands of one of his descendants, which testified to his study in that university.²

Hecker emigrated to Pennsylvania and landed at Philadelphia on

¹ The name Egidius, more correctly Aegidius, was derived from *aegis*, the shield of Jupiter. Hence it meant "shieldbearer," or "protector."

² See *Penn Germania*, I, 555.

the ship "Neptune," Captain James Wier, from Rotterdam via Cowes, on September 23, 1751. On October 23, 1752, Hecker appeared before the Coetus of Pennsylvania, at its meeting in Lancaster. The minutes state (p. 76):

"A certain young man was present by the name of Hecker, who arrived in this country last year and has begun to preach without ordination. He requested that he might be examined and ordained by us, so that hereafter he might go on laboring with honor and quietness of conscience in his so-called congregations. He received this answer, that although he might produce good testimonials, our Coetus nevertheless could not possibly grant his desire, but, according to its instructions [from Holland] it was obliged not only to refuse his request, but also to dissuade him from continuing his preaching, further beseeching and admonishing him not to keep on in such unadvised conduct, but to conduct himself peacefully and as a Christian."

In view of the scarcity of ministers then prevailing, this was very short-sighted advice to give, for as the Coetus as well as the Fathers in Holland could have foreseen, Hecker kept right on preaching, even without official sanction, while such sanction would have added greatly to his effectiveness.

One of the members of Coetus, the Rev. John Waldschmidt, his fellow countryman, who knew Hecker, had the courage of his convictions and, on November 22, 1752, wrote to Deputy Hoedmaker, at The Hague, the following recommendation of Hecker:

"There has been with us a student [of theology] named Hecker, from Dillenburg, as you can learn from Professor Arnoldi. He knows some Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and therefore would be better qualified to act and teach thoroughly [than others whom the Coetus had ordained]. But in order to avoid disorder, I do not wish to recommend him to you further, but I want to submit this, as also the other matters, to your consideration."

As to the place of Hecker's activity, we have only some rather indefinite references. In the history of the Stone Church, Allen Township, Northampton County, which Rev. J. C. Becker entered in the church record in 1835, he makes the following statement as to the origin of that and neighboring churches:

"About 85 years ago [about 1750] there existed three small German congregations in this neighborhood, namely, one in Mooretownship, [now Emmanuel's, at Petersville], one at Indian Creek [now defunct], and one on the Indianland [now St. Paul's, in Lehigh Township], which because of the sparse population were very small and, on account of the poverty of the members, unable to support a settled minister. They were, therefore,

compelled, because of a lack of well-trained ministers who were in connection with Synod, to be satisfied with itinerant preachers, who belonged to no organization and merely pretended to be ministers."

The story is continued in a letter which Simon Dreisbach, Jr., of the Stone Church, at Kreidersville, wrote to the Rev. John Henry Helffrich in January, 1773:

"About seventeen years ago [1755-56], when I began to reside here, church services or church attendance was very irregular, the preacher appeared only half of the time, when he announced services. Then the people who met had to return most of the time, which displeased them very much."

The writer then continues the story of the congregation to the close of Mr. Gross's ministry in 1765. He then adds:

"Through his [Gross's] removal the people became very much dissatisfied and returned to their former pastor, Hecker."

Thus we learn, in a round about way, that Hecker was the first pastor of these three congregations in Northampton County. In corroboration of this is the fact that there was until recently a church record of St. Paul's Church, on the "Indian Land," which was opened by Hecker in the fifties. In 1756 Hecker, like many others, was compelled to leave the northern part of Northampton County because of the Indian incursions, and to take refuge with congregations south of the Lehigh river.

The first tangible evidence of Hecker in the southern field occurs in the Lower Saucon record, which he opened on March 1, 1756, with the following title page:

"Church Record of the congregation in Saucon, begun in the year 1756, by me, John Egidius Hecker, pastor of the Reformed religion there. Opened in the year of Christ 1756, on the first of March."

Hecker's last entry in the Saucon record is dated March 30, 1766. Between those two dates, 1756 and 1766, he entered 33 baptisms. His activity extended to the Tohickon Church, Bedminster Township, Bucks County. Between August, 1756, and February, 1762, he entered 586 baptisms; 133 marriages, from October, 1755 to February, 1762; and 90 burials, from June, 1756, to January, 1762. Tohickon was, therefore, the centre of his activity. During this same period, 1756-1762, he officiated also at Upper Milford, in Lehigh County, where two marriages were entered under his name, on Nov. 2, 1756 and Nov. 29, 1757 respectively. The baptisms at Upper Milford, which also begin in 1756, were entered by elders or deacons, so that we are unable to fix the end of his ministry there with certainty, but it was perhaps in 1767, as in the following church. He was pastor at Springfield, Bucks County, from May, 1766, to May, 1767. In the latter year he seems to have given up his congregations south

of the Lehigh river, being succeeded everywhere by members of the Coetus of Pennsylvania. Just as the Indians pushed him southward in 1756, so the Coetus ministers pushed him northward in 1767. Crossing the Lehigh River, Hecker settled in Moore Township, from which as a centre he ministered to at least three congregations; namely, Indianland, in Lehigh Township; Indian Creek, in Allen Township; and Emmanuel's Church, in Moore Township. In the record of the last named congregation his baptismal entries begin May 14, 1769, and end May 9, 1773, during which time he entered 17 baptisms. The last entry which Hecker made was on October 8, 1773, when he signed the financial statement for that year. He died in Moore Township in November, 1773. His widow applied for letters of administration, in the county court at Easton, on November 30, 1773, when she and Jost Dreisbach signed a bond of fifty dollars to insure the faithful administration of the estate. Unfortunately no inventory of the estate is now on record.

Mr. Hecker was married, but thus far only the Christian name of his wife, Catharine, is known. They had seven children, of whom three appear in the Tohickon record, one in the Moore Township record, and three on tombstones. Among the descendants there are at least ten known ministers, six of whom were ministers of the Reformed Church, namely, Alfred W. DeLong, Henry Koch, Abraham Bartholomew, Dr. Allen B. Bartholomew, Albert O. Bartholomew, and Joshua S. Bartholomew.

In 1873, at the (so-called) 150th anniversary of the founding of the Emmanuel's Church, a large monument was erected to the memory of Mr. Hecker, in the graveyard adjoining Emmanuel's Church, at Petersburg, with the following inscription:

"To the Memory of
REV. JOHN E. HECKER⁴
who was pastor of this
Reformed congregation
one hundred years ago
and is buried here."

Similar memorial services were held at later times. One of them on September 20, 1923, of which we present a picture.

⁴His call name was not John, as the above inscription might suggest, but Egidius. In the letters of administration mentioned above his name is given as Rev. Egidius Hecker.

JOHN WILLIAM KALS

1700-1763 (?)

In 1726, "Johannes Guiljelmus Kals, Marcoduro-Juliacensis" matriculated in the University of Utrecht, Holland. This entry proves that his home was Düren, in the county of Julich. A later entry, on August 25, 1756, at the University of Leyden, states that he was then an ordained minister and 45 years of age. A search of the baptismal records at Düren, long before the II World War, failed to discover his baptism, but from the above entry we can conclude that he was born at Düren in 1700.

After having studied at the University of Utrecht, Kals appeared as a candidate for the ministry before the Classis of Amsterdam on May 7, 1731. He had received a call from the Directors of the Society of Surinam, in the West Indies, to be a minister in that colony. Hence he asked the Classis for examination and ordination. As he acquitted himself well in his examination, he was ordained on the same day.

There is a letter of the Classis to Mr. Kals at Coronie, Surinam, dated June 1, 1733, from which it appears that he had gotten into trouble with his superiors and had been censured by the Reformed Conventus of Surinam. The Classis joined in upbraiding him for his misconduct, which was quarrelsomeness, especially in his family. It is not known how long he remained in Surinam. On August 4, 1739, Kals asked the Classis by letter to recommend him as a candidate for the churches in the Dutch East Indies, to which the Classis replied that he would first have to submit proper credentials and a dismissal from his former church.

Kals then disappears for a number of years. In 1745, as stated above, he entered the University of Leyden, without paying a fee for his matriculation, as the record states: "gratis inscriptus."

This is followed by another period of silence. In 1753 the matriculation book of the "Gymnasium Illustre" at Bremen has this entry: "Jo. Guil. Kals, Juliacus, Marcoduranus, V.D.M." He apparently thought that he needed another "refresher" course.

Another period of silence intervenes before we hear of him again in Pennsylvania. On October 17, 1758, the Rev. William Stoy wrote to the Rev. Gerhard Klein, pastor at Schiedam, Holland:

"There arrived meanwhile, immediately after our Coetus held in Philadelphia [September 1758], Do. John William Kals, well-known in many places in Holland, and also to you, Reverend Sir, as I learned from

him. He brought letters of recommendation from the most noble London Society, addressed to Do. Smith, professor in the English College and Academy in Philadelphia. But, which surprises me, although well-known in Holland and being aware of our relation to the Venerable Synods, he had no letter to our Coetus. The Philadelphians elected this Do. Kals, whom I have just mentioned, as their pastor." In a postscript Mr. Stoy added that, after a stay of six or seven weeks, Kals had left Philadelphia and had gone to New Jersey, "because he did not wish to be troubled in his old age by the quarrels of the Philadelphians."

According to Dr. Corwin (*Manual*, 548), Kals preached at Amwell, New Jersey, and to the German churches on the Raritan, from 1757 [read 1758] to 1759, and to the German Reformed Church, then in Nassau Street, New York City, from 1759 to 1760.

During the absence of Rev. John George Alsentz from Germantown, owing to his trip to Germany, Kals preached at Germantown in 1762. He was described as "a man with only one eye, old and feeble." On October 5, 1762, Rev. John Waldschmidt reports in his church record: "I administered once more the communion to 32 persons in Reading. Three weeks later I preached there for the last time, because Rev. Mr. Kals had on the 26th of September installed himself as minister in Reading, wherefore I gave up serving the congregation and made room for him." Kals stayed at Reading till 1763, when he left that church and disappeared from the scene of action. He probably died shortly afterwards.

FREDERICK SAMUEL ROTHENBUEHLER

1726-1766

Frederick Samuel Rothenbuehler was born at Rued, now in the Canton of Aargau, and was baptized there on August 4, 1726. His father, the Rev. Isaac Rothenbuehler, was pastor at Rued from 1723 to 1736. His mother was Catharine, née Zehender. In 1721 his father had been licensed and received into the ministry. His first pastorate was at Rued. In 1736 he became pastor at Trutigen, which position he held till January, 1747, when he was deposed from the ministry. He died in 1749.

His son, Frederick Samuel, entered the Latin School at Berne in 1741, and became a candidate for the ministry on February 22, 1752. From May, 1752, to 1754, he served as chaplain of the Swiss regiment Uttinger, in Piedmont.¹

¹Information of the Rev. Dr. Ad. Fluri, Steigerweg, Berne; secured through Dr. Herman Escher, librarian of the Zurich city library.

According to Dr. Corwin (*Manual*, 691), Rothenbuehler appeared next in Holland, preaching at Amsterdam and the Hague, 1759–1760; then he was pastor of the German Reformed Church in London, 1760–61. He came to America in 1761, and was pastor of the German Reformed Church, New York City, 1761–1762.

On July 30, 1762, the Reformed Church at Philadelphia extended a call to Rothenbuehler to become their pastor. They promised him a parsonage, a salary of seventy pounds, six cords of fire-wood, a dollar for every marriage, and a shilling for entering every baptism. He, on his part, promised to preach the Word of God in its purity and simplicity, according to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments and conformable to the Heidelberg Catechism; also to preach every Sunday, if health permitted, an edifying sermon in both the forenoon and the afternoon; and, on the 1st of May to the end of September to catechise the children; to preach a midweek sermon every Thursday evening; to administer the sacraments faithfully; to visit sick persons; and with an elder or deacon to visit every family in the congregation. On August 22, 1762, Rothenbuehler preached his introductory sermon. He began his baptisms in the church record on July 25, 1762. They were continued to March 6, 1763. He entered altogether 75 baptisms and 19 marriages.

But Rothenbuehler had not been in the congregation for more than half a year before difficulties and contentions arose, largely due to his violent temper. On March 10, 1763, the consistory notified him that, according to the power they had reserved in their call, they now dismissed him and forbade him further to officiate in their church with preaching and the administration of the sacraments. They also stated that they would not pay the rent of the parsonage longer than April 13 following.

When the Coetus of Pennsylvania met on May 5–6, 1763, at Philadelphia, two elders appeared in the name of four other elders, six deacons, and 114 of the principal families of the Philadelphia congregation, and asked that the congregation be readmitted as members of the Coetus, from which it had separated under the ministry of Do. Steiner. Coetus resolved:

“We have no objection, first to rescue this congregation, which, after Do. Rothenbuehler had preached there about half a year, was brought into the greatest confusion by his scandalous conduct; and second to investigate their complaints against Do. Rothenbuehler.”

The disturbance in the congregation was investigated by the Coetus, and their resolutions regarding it were published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 18, 1763. They called attention to the fact that the call extended to Rothenbuehler, signed by him and the consistory, gave to the latter the power to dismiss him in case of a misunderstanding, and that therefore his dismissal was entirely legal. They also pointed out that at

a public meeting in the church, when between sixty to seventy members of the congregation were present to confer with him, "he behaved himself so indecently that they declared him to be unworthy of their pulpit and church." Regarding Mr. Rothenbuehler and his adherents they resolved:

"Whereas Mr. Rothenbuehler with those of the congregation who intend to retain him as their minister, have desired to be received into our Coetus, we do hereby declare this to be our resolution, that as Mr. Rothenbuehler has by his conduct, as well in Europe as in New York, deserved censure and reproof, for which reason he has no testimonials to produce from the Reverend Synods or from the Classis of Amsterdam, and at New York has been disabled to hold office in the church, and has of late, toward his congregation at Philadelphia, and towards the brethren of the Rev. Coetus in general, and to some of them in particular, behaved in a manner contrary to all rules of decency, it would be a great reproach for us to receive such as brethren who are a detriment and disgrace as well to the church as to us. Moreover, Mr. Stapel and Mr. Alsentz have been, by the Deputies of the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam warned not to be in communication with him; and therefore as desirous as we are to see faithful laborers in our Pennsylvania vineyard, and to be in brotherly union with numbers of his people, in order to bring the harvest of the Lord to its perfection, we cannot comply with the request of Mr. Rothenbuehler and his adherents." (*Minutes*, p. 219.)

Rothenbuehler answered these resolutions of the Coetus, trying to make it appear that he had an honorable past, as indicated by numerous testimonials. But Coetus had no difficulty in puncturing his specious defense. Thus, a number of accusations and spirited replies were exchanged in the newspapers, especially in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 23, June 30th, August 4th, and August 18th, 1763.

As the Coetus was unwilling to receive Rothenbuehler and his adherents as members, they organized a new congregation and built a new church on Fourth Street, calling it St. George's Church. They contracted a large indebtedness in erecting the church, and as they were unable to meet their obligations some of the trustees, who had given security for the debt, were sent to jail. When asked why they were there, they answered truthfully: "We built a church." Because the congregation was unable to hold this property, it was sold in 1770 to the Methodists. It is now said to be the oldest Methodist church building in the United States. But the corner-stone, still preserved, reads: "This High German [St.] George Church was built in MDCCLXIII."

Rothenbuehler himself did not live to see the calamity he had brought on his church. He died in 1766. The church record of the First Reformed Church of Philadelphia has the following entry by Rothen-

buehler's successor, the Rev. Casper Weyberg:

"The life of Mr. Rothenbuehler extended over 40 years and 9 days. He was buried by me on August 9, 1766, after he had been confined to bed for a few days by a violent fever. This sudden departure made a deep impression upon me and all other acquaintances.

"Weyberg, at present pastor of the old church."

LUDWIG LUPP

1733-1798

The European antecedents of Ludwig Lupp were discovered by a lucky coincidence. Many years ago the writer found in possession of the late Rev. U. Henry Heilman of Lebanon a copy of the well-known sermon-book of the famous Dr. Conrad Mel, entitled: *Zion's Lehre und Wunder oder Predigten ueber die Sonn-und Fest-taeglichen Evangelia*, etc. Cassel, 1752. It was a sermon-book on the Gospel lessons for all Sundays and holidays, of which copies circulated in Pennsylvania. On the inside of the book's cover was the inscription: "The book belongs to me, Ludwig Lupp, in Lebanon." On the fly leaf was this inscription: "Ludwig Christian Lupp, of the court parish of Marienberg, township Beilstein, in Nassau-Dietz. This book was bought at Herborn, bound at Dillenburg, cost 1 florin and ten coppers, to be given to Peter Rossler." A third entry reads: "1763, May 12th, ascension day, written by me John Henry Lupp, schoolmaster in the court parish." And finally: "Ludwig Lupp, Lebanon, 1790."

From these entries the writer inferred that the book belonged, most likely, to John Henry Lupp, was given by him to Ludwig Christian Lupp (who may have been a brother of Ludwig), and finally reached Ludwig Lupp in Lebanon in 1790. Now, if Ludwig Christian Lupp came from Marienberg, in Nassau, that must be the place to look for Ludwig. Hence a letter was addressed to the pastor of the Evangelical Church at Marienberg, with the inquiry whether a Ludwig Lupp was born there in January, 1733.

Shortly afterwards a reply was received, which proved that the inferences which had been made were correct. Ludwig Lupp was born at Marienberg, in the province of Hesse-Nassau (not far from Coblenz), on January 7, 1733, and was baptized there January 14, 1733. He was the son of John Henry Lupp, schoolmaster. This showed that the sermon-book of Dr. Mel belonged at one time to the father of Ludwig Lupp.

Ludwig Lupp came to Pennsylvania on the ship "Rowand," Arthur Tran, captain, taking the oath of allegiance September 29, 1753. On September 30, 1754, on the ship "Edinburgh," came Henry Lupp, most likely the father of Ludwig, who brought the sermon-book with him to Pennsylvania.

Shortly after his arrival Lupp settled near Strausstown, in what is now Upper Tulpehocken Township, Berks County. Here he was at first the schoolmaster of the parochial school. But, owing to the lack of duly ordained ministers, he gradually assumed all the duties of a pastor. It was formerly supposed that he was a member of the Coetus. (*Fathers*, II, 353), but, now that all the minutes of the Coetus have been recovered, it is no longer possible to hold that view. His name never occurs in the minutes of the Coetus. He was one of the numerous independent ministers who in their way did a useful work, as there were not enough ordained ministers to supply all the Reformed congregations.

On May 21, 1767, Lupp opened the church record of the "Congregation near the Blue Mountains, at the Northkill, in Tulpehocken township." He copied into the record the baptisms of at least two earlier pastorates, one from 1745 to 1750, the second from 1750 to 1754. His own entries for the years 1757-1760 record three baptisms of his own children. From 1760 to 1766 are twelve scattered baptisms. Then in March, 1766, a series of regular baptisms begins. From this evidence we conclude that Lupp acted as school-teacher from 1757 to 1766. In March, 1766, his regular entries as pastor begin. They extend to October 1772. During this time he entered 125 baptisms in the record. Among them the most interesting are those of nine of his children.

In November, 1772, Lupp transferred his pastoral activity to the neighboring Bern Church, where his handwriting appears in the church record from November 1, 1772 to July 4, 1782, during which time he recorded 115 baptisms. After the latter date he returned again to Strausstown for a second pastorate, which extended from May, 1784, to April, 1786. Eight baptisms in the Strausstown record during this time testify to his presence and activity. It was from Strausstown that Lupp came to Lebanon, about December 1786, his first baptism at Lebanon being dated December 6, 1786. Lupp's charge comprised the following congregations: Lebanon; Blaser's, near Elizabethtown; Maytown; Manheim; and later, from 1791, Rapho—all in Lancaster County. In addition he served Hill Church near Annville, and Swatara (now Jonestown), then in Dauphin County.

During his ministry in Lebanon Lupp was on friendly terms with the Moravian pastors, with the result that we find a number of interesting references to pastor and congregation in the *Hebron Diary*:

"1787, February 7th, I (Lorenz Bage) went to town. There was the funeral of a child, namely Keller's. The Reformed minister, Lub, conducted the funeral. Mr. Kurz (Lutheran pastor) and myself had the honor of going with him."

"1787, June 22nd. at 9 a.m. was the funeral of our sainted Br. Lorenz Bage (Moravian pastor). A great number of friends and neighbors from town were present, also the pastors in town, Messrs. Kurz and Lupp."

"1789, October 1st, was the funeral of our sainted Bro. Balthasar Orth. The Reformed pastor Lupp was also present. After the sermon I had a friendly conversation with him, to our mutual enjoyment."

"1789, October 30th. I was in town and heard the Reformed pastor Lupp deliver a funeral sermon. I rejoiced over his evangelical discourse, since he is at other times a legalistically pious man, who attacks sins and evils with the thundering words of the law, which may result in shocks, but in the end the sheep that go astray are not sufficiently directed to the source of healing and life."

"1791, June 11th. I went to town, because the Reformed pastor Lupp had requested me to be present at the presentation of the children, whom he confirmed today and who attended the Lord's Supper for the first time. At first there was a preparatory sermon, and then the fifty children were each twice asked to answer questions of their catechism. There was at this important transaction in the whole church a continued weeping and the young hearts were deeply touched. It lasted about six hours until it was all over. I took hearty leave from the minister and was grateful I had come." This is one of the few records of a confirmation service that has come down from the eighteenth century. Truly our ancestors could stand the church air better than their weaker descendants.

"1792, June 6th. We had thunderstorm all day. In the afternoon lightning struck the Reformed Church, but it did not burn. However all the windows were broken and the tower hit. We heard about other fatalities. There was also hail in the last downpour."

"1792, June 12. The Reformed people held services last Sunday, (June 10th) in the Lutheran church, because their own was heavily damaged by the storm."

"1792, June 26th. In the forenoon the corner-stone of the new Reformed church was laid, in the presence of a large multitude of people. Bro. Schlegel of Bethel (Moravian pastor) was also present to attend the celebration. He and Bro. Peter were invited to come under the tent with the ministers. Mr. Hendel (of Tulpehocken) preached very beautifully from the words of Jacob: "This stone, which I have raised for a memorial shall be a house of God." They were both invited by Mr.

Krebs, a hatmaker in town, a converted man, to take dinner with the Rev. Mr. Hendel, when they had a very pleasant conversation."

"1796, May 8th. The dedication of the new Reformed church in Lebanon was solemnized by three sermons, by the ministers Becker, Pauli and Hendel. At the request of Mr. Pauli, Bro. Molther visited him in the afternoon. He showed much respect for some of the brethren in Bethlehem, with whom he is acquainted. On Monday morning Rev. Mr. Lochmann (Lutheran Pastor) delivered the last dedication sermon."

Into the corner-stone of the new church a number of documents were placed, one of which the pastor copied into the church record. It reads:

"To our faithful Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, as the true foundation of the church, we devote this edifice, under the name of the Reformed Church of the Evangelical Reformed Congregation in Lebanon Township, Dauphin County.

"Beloved children and posterity. We deposit in this corner-stone a document, from which if it ever should come to light, it will be seen, that the corner-stone of this Reformed church was laid on the 26th of June, 1792, that thereby your souls as well as ours may be edified by the preaching of the divine truth, based on the foundation of Apostles and Prophets, that your children may be admitted by Holy Baptism into God's covenant of grace, that they may be instructed in the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, be confirmed and strengthened in Christ with us through the use of the Holy Communion.

"May God grant that in the building of this church we may have in view only the glorification of His name and that we make it our endeavor to assist you in delivering your souls from death to eternal life, that through the ministry of faithful teachers you may not only grow in the knowledge and understanding of the truths of our faith and the duties of our life, but you may also allow yourselves to be stimulated to the exercise and experience of the truths thus apprehended.

"May you, beloved descendants, through God's grace and the use of the means of grace, endeavor to be and remain faithful branches of Christ, the true Vine, children of light, members of his spiritual body and living stones in God's spiritual Zion. Then you will not lack comfort in the sad hours of suffering and temptation, for the promises of our gracious Father in heaven will be your sure staff and stay, to which you can cling as pilgrims of this earth in the dark hours of death and with which you can pass to the New Jerusalem.

"Now may the God of peace which brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work

to do His will, working in you that which is well pleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen." This document reveals something of the spirit of this pastor. The total cost of the church amounted to £1,675, or about \$4,355.

How small a place Lebanon was in 1789 appears from a quotation of Alexander Graydon, according to which Lebanon contained in that year "about 180 houses and two German churches, built of wood."

There are only two more items from the *Hebron Diary* to be added regarding the pastor Ludwig Lupp:

"1798, June 29th. We heard early this morning that Mr. Lupp had passed away last night. Bro. Schlegel had visited him yesterday."

"1798, June 30th, Bro. Fritz attended his funeral, which Mr. Hendel of Tulpehocken conducted before a large audience. He preached an evangelical sermon from Hebr. 4:1. The old Mr. Kurtz of Jonestown gave an exhortation at the altar, from Hebr. 13:17, laying it upon the hearts of the people not to forget what they heard from their pastor."

The Rev. Henry Wagner, one of his successors, has given a brief but adequate summary of his character and activity. He writes:

"He was not a man of classical education, and had not been regularly prepared for the ministry; he was, however, a well-read man, and had made himself well-acquainted with the Bible. He was also a truly pious servant of Christ, and much devoted in his pastoral attention to the people of his charge. It was his regular custom, in his pastoral visits, wherever he remained over night, to have the neighbors invited, in order to spend the evening with them in prayer and religious conversation. He seems to have been untiring in his pastoral labors to promote true piety and godliness among the people entrusted to his care, as a true shepherd of his flock."

Mr. Lupp recorded 382 baptisms in the Lebanon record, the last on June 10, 1798. He was buried in the graveyard behind the church, the second pastor of the congregation to find there his last resting place. The inscription on his tombstone, translated into English, reads:

Here sleeps
a grey head
LUDWIG LUPP
Minister for 12 years in Lebanon
1733, He was born January 7, 1733
Married three times He had
12 children, of whom 5
survive him. He died June
28, 1798.
His age 65 years, 5 mos. and
3 weeks.

SAMUEL SUTHER

Samuel Suther was born in Switzerland on May 18, 1722. On March 28, 1738, his father with a large family left Switzerland to seek a new home in the New World. However, the ship on which they sailed suffered shipwreck on the shores of England, where the father and two of the daughters found a watery grave. After the ship had been repaired and refitted, the survivors sailed with it to a port in Virginia. They passed through thirteen successive storms and after four months cast anchor in sight of the destined harbor, on January 5th, 1739. But before they could be brought to shore, another storm overtook them, which wrecked the ship, and with it two hundred and twenty-five persons perished. Samuel was the only one of his family who reached the shore alive, but utterly exhausted from hunger and cold. An Englishman and his family took him in, nursed him, and he recovered slowly from his terrible experiences.

We are unable to trace him during the following years. In 1749 he was a schoolmaster in Philadelphia. On October 26, 1749, the following advertisement appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:

"Samuel Suther, schoolmaster in Cherry Street, hereby gives notice that he teaches in the High German language and those who have aimed to learn the same, may be informed of him by Michael Slater, High German minister."

Then we lose sight of him again until June, 1768, when he began preaching in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. When, where, and by whom he was ordained is not known, but it is said that his children and grandchildren preserved for many years an ordination certificate which showed that he was ordained in Philadelphia. Perhaps the Coetus of Pennsylvania ordained him privately.

In the year 1768 Suther was preaching in Mecklenburg (now Cabarrus) County, in what was then known as Coldwater Church. Governor Tryon refers to him in his diary, under date August 21, 1768:

"Heard Mr. Suther, a Dutch minister, preach who recommended with warmth a due obedience to the Laws of the country and a union of heart to support the Peace and Tranquility of the Province." The governor ordered Suther to accompany the Rowan and Mecklenburg battalions as chaplain, which he did. While they were encamped at Hillsboro, Suther preached to the troops, as shown by the following order of the governor: "It is ordered that Mr. Suther preach tomorrow [September 25, 1768] to the Rowan and Mecklenburg battalions."¹

¹ *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, VII, 834; quoted in *Historical Sketch of the Reformed Church in North Carolina*, (1905), 203.

On October 25, 1771, Suther removed from Mecklenburg to Guilford County, where he took up his residence and from which as a center he ministered to the neighboring German churches, till January 7, 1782. In 1784 he traveled to Pennsylvania with an elder to collect money for the building of the first Reformed church in Guilford County. With what success the undertaking was crowned it not known, but so much is certain, that the Brick church in Guilford County was built about that time.

From Guilford, Suther returned to Mecklenburg, where he remained till 1786, when he removed to the Orangeburg district in South Carolina. There he lived and preached till his death, which occurred on September 28, 1788.²

JOHN WILLIAM PITHAN (PYTHAN)

John William Pithan was born May 3, 1740, at Ober-Ingelheim, in the Palatinate. He was the son of John Pithan and his wife Maria Catharina, nee Rieger. They were married at Ober-Ingelheim in 1738. They had eleven children, of whom John William was the second.

He matriculated at the University of Heidelberg on January 30, 1759.³ He studied there with John William Hendel, John Theobald Faber, George Emmerich Wallauer, and John Daniel Gros, all of whom came to Pennsylvania.

He was not sent by the Synods of Holland but came on his own initiative. He arrived on the ship "Nancy & Sucky," on September 1, 1769, qualifying as "Joannes Guilielmus Pythan." According to testimonials he submitted to the Reformed Coetus, at Germantown September 20-21, 1769, he had been examined and ordained by the Palatinate Consistory.

As the congregation of Easton was vacant at that time, Coetus allowed Pythan provisionally to supply the Easton charge, consisting of Easton, Plainfield, Dryland, and Greenwich (the last in New Jersey). In view of his excellent testimonials Coetus recommended him strongly to the Fathers in Holland, writing about him as follows:

"With regard to this candidate we believe that we could not have done anything better. If Mr. Pithan were a man who might prove unworthy, he would quickly have forced himself upon a congregation, and would have done our church more injury than he can do now. For if he

² The first sketch of Suther's life appeared in the *Reformed Church Messenger*, May 10, 1843, written at the time of death of his son, David Suther. It was used by Dr. Harbaugh in his sketch in the *Fathers*, II, 156-158.

³ See Toepeke, *Matrikel*, IV, 190.

does not conduct himself properly, we can easily stop his ministry at Easton, since these congregations are under the jurisdiction of the Coetus. But should he conduct himself as a true minister of God's Word, as from all appearances may be expected of him, then we wish to recommend him to our greatly beloved and honored Fathers in Holland." (*Minutes*, 283). His first entry in the Easton Church record was on November 30, 1769.

But the high hopes which the Coetus entertained for him were not realized. At the next meeting of Coetus, held on September 19-21, 1770, at Philadelphia, complaints were brought against him, which moved Coetus to earnest remonstrances and censure. He confessed his faults, due to drink, and promised to do better. Coetus gave him one more chance, but threatened that unless he changed his conduct, they would declare him a man "unfit and unworthy of the ministry." (*Minutes*, 300) In the Coetal letter of December 1770 they reported Pythan as "deposed on account of his continued ungodly conduct." At Plainfield his entries in the church record stop on September 30, 1770.

The minutes of 1771 report that a small party at Easton and the congregation at Dryland still adhered to him. Coetus informed the people at Dryland that, "if in future they had any dealings with Pythan, the Reverend Coetus would no longer regard them as a congregation of the Coetus." This had the desired effect. Pythan was dismissed and in 1772 John William Weber was accepted as his successor.

After that Pythan left Pennsylvania and transferred his activity to North Carolina, where he seems to have redeemed himself. There he preached, prior to 1786, in the churches of Catawba County, and after 1786 in the Brick Church in Guilford County. At the latter place he served about two years, when death suddenly cut short his career. He had been preaching on a certain Sabbath on one of the Parables of Jesus, a sermon long remembered afterwards. He returned home unwell and died the same day, about 1788. He was buried at the Brick Church.²

BRUIN ROMCAS COMINGOE

1723-1820

During the middle of the eighteenth century German settlements existed all along the Atlantic coast, from Nova Scotia, in the north, to Savannah, Georgia, in the south. These settlements consisted of Lutheran as well as Reformed people.

² See *Historic Sketch of the Reformed Church in North Carolina*, 127f.

According to Duncan Campbell, whose *History of Nova Scotia* appeared in 1873, 958 Germans settled in Nova Scotia in 1751, about 1000 the following year, and 1500 in 1753, 250 of whom settled at Lunenburg, Nova Scotia. The Lutherans were the first to secure a church and ministers. When, after several pastorates, there was a vacancy in 1759, a call was sent—through the Rev. Mr. Schlatter, after he returned from the siege of Louisburg and a visit to Halifax—to Rev. H. M. Muehlenberg to become their pastor at a salary of seventy pounds sterling, a call which Muehlenberg felt compelled to decline.¹ In 1761 they built a church, popularly called the “Chickencock Church,” because it had a rooster on the spire as a weather-vane. On June 27, 1768, during another vacancy, they addressed another letter to Mr. Muehlenberg, asking him to send them a preacher. But they had to wait till 1772, when the Rev. Frederick Schultze became their pastor.²

The Reformed people were not so fortunate. Although they had religious services in private houses, led by one of their elders, they had no regular pastor for sixteen years, 1754–1770. In 1769 they began building a church by subscriptions, which they completed in part. Then they looked around for a minister. They wrote a letter to Philadelphia, addressed most likely to the Reformed pastor there, the Rev. Casper Weyberg. In reply they were informed that the Reformed people of Pennsylvania were unable to supply their own vacant churches, and therefore were not in a position to help them. They then appealed to the governor of the province, the Right Honorable William Campbell, who told them to select one of their own number and offered to help them in having him ordained. Their choice fell on a Dutch Reformed fisherman, who had most likely led their religious services, Bruin Romcas Comingoe, who was popularly known by the name of Brown.³

Comingoe had been born at Leuwarden, in the province of Groningen, in Holland, in October 1723. He had come to Nova Scotia with the first German settlers in 1752. His name is included in the original list of grantees at Chester. After the Reformed people had united in their choice on Comingoe as their pastor, sixty of their families appealed to the Presbyterian and Congregational ministers of the province to examine and ordain him. They were the Rev. Messrs. Seccombe, Lyon, Murdoch, and Phelps, the last of whom was a Congregationalist. They examined the candidate carefully: (1) As to his life and conduct. They learned from reliable witnesses that he had been unright and blameless;

¹ See *Hallesche Nachrichten*, I, 262, 455, 635; II, 258.

² See *Documentary History of the Lutheran Ministerium*, 96f.

³ *Bruin* is the Dutch word for *brown*.

(2) As to his ability and fitness for the sacred office, especially as to his knowledge of "speculative and practical religion"; they found him well-qualified in these respects; (3) as to his ability to preach the Word and explain the Reformed faith. They found him well-versed in the Scriptures and came to the conclusion that "bonus textuarius est bonus theologus," that is, he who can explain Scripture is a good theologian.

They also considered their right to ordain a man who did not have a theological education. They turned to the minutes of the General Assembly of Scotland and discovered that in the year 1708 the Presbytery of Skey had been commissioned to ordain and install, in the parish of St. Kilda, a man who possessed exceptional gifts but had not had a classical education. They therefore concluded to proceed with the ordination. "We do not mean," they declared, "that our procedure in this affair should be made a precedent of, or brought into usage in this infant colony or elsewhere, unless in case of necessity, as above mentioned."

The ordination took place in the "Protestant Dissenting Meeting House," now St. Matthew's Presbyterian Church in Halifax, in the presence of the Governor, several representatives of the government, numerous prominent citizens, and representatives of the Lunenburg Reformed congregation. The *Nova Scotia Chronicle and Weekly Advertiser*, under date July 3, 1770, published the following notice:

"It is with pleasure we can inform the public, that this Day the Rev. Messrs. Seccombe, Lyon, Phelps and Murdoch, set a-part to the office of the Holy Ministry, Mr. Bruin Rumkis Comingoe (known by the name of Brown), at the request of more than sixty Families of the Dutch Calvinist Presbyterian congregation of Lunenburgh."

The ordination sermon was preached by the Rev. John Seccombe, M.A., of Chester, from John 21:15, 16. A historical statement was made and the constitutional questions were propounded by the Rev. James Murdoch, of Horton. The Rev. James Lyon delivered the charge to the pastor and the Rev. Mr. Phelps led in giving the right hand of fellowship to the newly installed pastor.

The ordination sermon, together with an account of the proceedings, was printed as a pamphlet and published at Halifax in 1770. Its title reads:

A Sermon preached at Halifax, July 3, 1770, at the ordination of the Rev. Bruin Romcas Comingoe, To the Dutch Calvinistic Presbyterian Congregation at Lunenburg, by John Seccombe, of Chester, A.M. Being the first preached in this province of Nova-Scotia, on such an occasion. To which is added an Appendix. Halifax: Printed by A. Henry 1770. (Price one shilling.) 40 p. 17.5 cm.⁴

⁴ A copy of the original is in the Dalhousie University library, Halifax. Title was furnished through kindness of librarian.

The sermon was translated into German and published by Henry Miller, at Philadelphia, in 1771. A copy of the German sermon was sent to the Classis of Amsterdam, together with two letters. They are now in the archives of the Dutch Reformed Church at New Brunswick, New Jersey.

In 1772 a delegate of the congregation, Mr. Martin Kaulbach, was appointed to collect money for the completion of the church, as the people felt themselves too weak to complete it without outside help. He went to New York and Pennsylvania, and, although he succeeded in getting small contributions, he found the fellow-brethren in Pennsylvania either in debt or engaged in building churches of their own. As a result a letter was sent to the Classis of Amsterdam, dated August 4, 1772, in which they presented their need and asked the Classis to help them, in order, as they put it, "that their church might be continued and grow in that far-away corner of the earth." A second letter, in the nature of an affidavit, accompanied this appeal, signed by Mr. Comingoe and fifteen members of the congregation and certified to by eighteen leading citizens of the province. Unfortunately the Classis found itself unable to answer the appeal favorably.

Another appeal, dated August 4, 1774, was submitted to the Deputies of the Synods of South and North Holland, to which William Nesbitt, an attorney at Halifax, attached his affidavit. As Mr. Kaulbach did not appear personally to press the appeal, the Deputies failed to act upon it.

Mr. Comingoe enjoyed a long and successful pastorate of fifty years at Lunenburg. He preached regularly almost to the end of his life. He died January 6th, 1820, in the ninety-seventh year of his life.⁵ He was remembered by his parishioners as a devoted pastor and an earnest evangelical preacher, who was respected and beloved by all.

Comingoe was succeeded by the Rev. Adam Moschel, born at Mannheim, Germany, and educated at the University of Heidelberg. Having been pastor of the congregation for seventeen years, 1820-1837, he returned to Germany. After his departure the congregation connected itself with the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, and was served by Scotch pastors. It is still in existence as St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church of Lunenburg. It did not join the United Church of Canada. Its present (1945) pastor, the Rev. Alexander Allen, kindly contributed information to this sketch.

A pewter communion cup, sent from Hanover, Germany in 1769, and used by Mr. Comingoe, is still in existence. There is also a memorial window to Mr. Comingoe, with his picture, in a stained-glass window in the present church.

⁵ The dates of his birth and death are taken from Mather B. DesBrisay, *History of the County of Lunenburg*, (1895), 90f.

JOHN WILLIAM BOOS

1740-1814

John William Boos was born at Otterberg, near Kaiserslautern, in the Palatinate, on September 8 and was baptized September 13, 1740. His father was Philip Jacob Boos, parochial school teacher of the Otterberg Reformed Church, and his mother, Anna Maria, nee Fromme. They had six children, of whom John William was the third. On September 29, 1763, young Boos matriculated at the University of Heidelberg. He then disappears from view for a few years.

On May 2, 1768, the Rev. Mr. Kessler, German Reformed minister at Amsterdam, informed the Deputies of the Synods that he had received a letter from Prof. Wundt, of Heidelberg University, offering Mr. Boos as a candidate for Pennsylvania. In reply the professor was asked for testimonials regarding Boos. At a later meeting of the Deputies, on May 30, 1768, they were informed that Mr. Boos was on his way to Holland. When Boos appeared before the Deputies on July 13, 1768, he failed in his examination. Hence the Deputies "felt not at liberty, on account of his want of fitness, to accept him as yet for service in Pennsylvania." He was sent for a year to the University of Utrecht to continue his studies at the expense of the Deputies. But when he appeared again before the the Deputies, provided with testimonials from his teachers at Utrecht, and was given another examination June 7, 1769, he failed once more to satisfy his examiners. Being again sent back to Utrecht and appearing before the Deputies on February 5, 1770, he failed a third time in his examination. He was finally told to go to a Rev. Mr. Koppiers, at Leyden, who would assist him privately to prepare for his final examination, to be held on June 20, 1770. But, when the time came, Boos informed the Deputies that he was sick with fever and unable to come. That is the last we hear of him in the Holland records.

Apparently Boos despaired of ever getting the approval of the Synodical Deputies to go to Pennsylvania. Hence he left Holland and went to Pennsylvania at his own expense. The journey took place probably in the summer of 1770, by way of New York, where most of the ministers sent from Holland landed.

In the minutes of the Coetus of 1771 we are definitely informed "that no complaints were brought against him before the last Coetus." This carries us back to September 19-21, 1770, when the previous Coetus

was held in Philadelphia. At the Coetus of October 9-10, 1771, held at Reading, Boos was present and was appointed as a member of a committee to supply the Maxatawny congregation in Berks County. At the same time we have a lengthy report about him (*Minutes*, 314), in which it is stated that Coetus was much disappointed that he had brought no testimonials from the Fathers in Holland when he arrived in Pennsylvania; but that, despite of this deficiency, the people of Reading had heard him preach, had liked him, and had insisted before a committee of Coetus that he be allowed to serve them, to which the committee had given a reluctant consent, but with the proviso that the appointment be provisional. As he was "well liked by the congregation," Coetus allowed Mr. Boos to continue his ministry at Reading.

At the same time the Heidelberg congregation (Cacusi, or Hain's Church, in Lower Heidelberg Township) complained that Mr. Waldschmidt did not satisfy the congregation; hence they asked the congregation in Reading to share their minister with them by allowing him to preach at Heidelberg every third Sunday. This arrangement was approved by the Coetus. On December 7, 1772, "John William Boos, minister," signed for the first time the financial settlement of the alms money. His signature to annual settlements continues to December 8, 1781, which indicates that his ministry at Reading was from 1770 to 1781. He continued at Cacusi, or Heidelberg, till 1789. In that congregation he baptized 634 children, from October 23, 1771, to August 17, 1789. He ministered also to other neighboring churches. From January, 1784, to November, 1788, he served the Bern Church in Bern Township. In 1784 Boos took up his permanent residence in Reading, purchasing on April 16, 1784, the southwest corner of Ninth and Penn Streets, for 450 pounds Pennsylvania money. Here he resided to the end of his life. On March 18, 1789, he had again become the pastor of the Reading congregation, for he signed on that date the annual account of the alms money. At the meeting of the Coetus held in Philadelphia on June 10, 1789, a delegate from Reading appeared and asked that the call to Mr. Boos be confirmed. But, as his conduct was reported as bad, Coetus refused to comply with the request. This second pastorate of Boos at Reading continued till 1792. On April 11, 1792, he entered his last financial statement in the account book. But that was not the end of his ministry in the Reformed Church, as might be inferred from recent statements. He had a second ministry at Cacusi, or Heidelberg, from April, 1792, to April, 1805, during which time he entered 447 baptisms in the record. He also preached at Oley, from 1787 to 1789, and perhaps even longer. But his longest pastorate was at Schwartzwald, Berks County. In 1839 there was bought at an auction by the late C. W. Unger, of Pottsville, the

book in which Boos kept the full record of his pastorate at Schwartzwald, from May, 1781, to January 28, 1811. The writer has a copy of this record. It contains no fewer than 3598 baptisms, 2000 marriages, and 1167 burials. It is an outstanding record, which bears testimony to the faithfulness of his pastoral work. There are few records that can compare with it.

Mr. Boos died at Reading on November 28, 1814, aged 74 years. He is now buried in Charles Evans Cemetery. He had married Barbara Epler, of Bern Township. They had eight children. His sons became prominent citizens in Reading. His last will was probated on August 4, 1815. His sons John and Daniel administered the estate, his wife having renounced her right. The sons changed the family name to Boas.

The best testimonial as to the excellence of Boos's ministry comes from the Coetus itself. In the Coetal letter of 1777, Mr. Wittner, the secretary pro tem., wrote as follows to the Fathers in Holland:

"Mr. Boos, by the assistance of the Most High, and by extraordinary zeal and diligence in all parts of his laudable ministry in the congregation, has brought it into such order that it is second to none of the congregations in America. Mr. Boos is at present a learned and brave soldier of Jesus Christ, and leads a blameless life. He is not only beloved by the whole population of the considerable town of Reading, but all the members of the Reformed Coetus also honor him with special respect and friendship. Therefore, we all beg of our most Reverend Fathers kindly to accept Mr. Boos, especially since it would be detrimental to our Church in this country still longer to reject such a worthy and sincere servant of Jesus Christ." In spite of this earnest plea, the Fathers refused this well-meant request.

It is said that Boos failed mentally in the last years of his life. This is indirectly confirmed by the Schwartzwald record, in which his pastoral acts extend only to 1811.

In spite of some faults in his personal conduct, Mr. Boos had the approval of his congregations as well as of his brethren in the ministry.

HENRY HERTZEL

Henry Hertzelt was born in 1738, but his birthplace has not yet been found. He first appeared in the old Huguenot Church in Kutztown, prior to 1772. About 1774 we meet him in Jacobs Church, Jacksonville, Lynn Township, Lehigh County. There he followed Peter Miller as school-master and preceded John Roth. At the same time he preached in

the Ebenezer Church.¹ In 1777 Dunkel's church with Rosenthal, Jacobs, and Organ Church appeared before the Coetus asking that Hertzel be examined and ordained. Coetus resolved:

"Since it was learned that said Hertzel is induced only by temporal considerations to desire such an important office, neither his desire nor that of the congregations can be granted; therefore, the congregations are requested to avoid Hertzel, and to have patience until we can supply them with a regular minister."

At Longswamp Hertzel served after the pastorate of Philip Jacob Michael, that is from 1785 to 1795. Dr. Wm. Helffrich writes in his History: "He [Michael] was followed by Henry Hertzel, who was likewise a squatter, but stood morally below Michael. He had preached in the old Huguenot Church at Kutztown, but had been dismissed there before 1772. A venerable old man of ninety years—Peter Wetzel—related to the writer that Herztel was a tall, fat man, a mason by trade. The people laughed at him, but he thought that he could build the Kingdom of God as well as houses. Hertzel tried to be admitted to the Coetus, but was found to be unfit and hence was refused. His influence gradually waned."²

An interesting story is told about him by the Mennonites. During the Revolutionary War many of the Amish Mennonites were drafted to serve as soldiers. True to their doctrine of non-resistance, they refused to bear arms or to render service in the army. They were arrested, taken to Reading, Pennsylvania, and were there imprisoned. After a speedy trial they were sentenced to death, and the day of execution was set. Meanwhile, the Rev. Henry Hertzell, a minister of the Reformed Church, interested himself in their behalf and made a strong, personal appeal to the authorities for the freedom of these innocent, unassuming, and quiet people. The ground of Rev. Hertzell's appeal was, that these people had fled from Europe to escape military service, and that they could not now be expected to do what their conscience forbade them to do in Europe. The appeal, coming from the source it did, made a deep impression on those in authority, and the prisoners were granted their freedom. However, they had to buy their freedom by paying for a substitute, which worked considerable hardship. One of the persons released, John Hertzler, paid a tax of £104, 2s, a fine of £104, and a collection fee of 1s 6, a total of £209 8s.³

¹ Wm. Helffrich, *Geschichte verschiedener Gemeinden in Lecha und Berks Counties*, [Allentown, 1891], 26, 49, 52.

² *Ibid.*, 26.

³ *Mennonite Year Book and Almanac for the year of our Lord 1908.*

GEORGE EMMERICH WALLAUER

In the church record of the Baltimore Reformed congregation a new minister signed the financial account on September 7, 1772, as "George Wallauer." The antecedents of this minister were unknown till some years ago, when it was discovered that on April 11, 1761, a George Emmerich Wallauer matriculated at Heidelberg University as coming from Appenheim, in the Palatinate.

At Appenheim it was found that George Frederick Wallauer was pastor there from 1739 to 1776. He too had studied at Heidelberg, matriculating there April 17, 1727, coming from Sargenroth, where his father, Frederick Julius Wallauer, had been pastor from 1705 to 1742. Thus we found that both the father as well as the grandfather of George Emmerich Wallauer had been ministers. Of the father, George Frederick Wallauer, we know that he had three children: George Emmerich, who entered Heidelberg University in 1761; George Frederick, who studied at Marburg University in 1763; and a daughter, Jacobina, who married the Rev. John Peter Dechant, who succeeded his father-in-law at Appenheim in 1776. This Mr. Dechant was the father of Jacob Wm. Dechant, who came to America in 1805 and for a time was the Reformed minister at Goshenhoppen.

While at Heidelberg University George E. Wallauer was a fellow-student of John H. Helffrich, Frederick Lewis Henop, John Wm. Pithan, John William Hendel, and John Theobald Faber, Sr., all of whom came to Pennsylvania. They may have influenced the decision of Wallauer to follow their example.

On April 3, 1769, Wallauer applied to the Classical Commissioners as a candidate for Pennsylvania, having been recommended by Prof. Wundt, of Heidelberg University. They replied that there was at that time no opening in Pennsylvania. He applied to them again on July 5, 1771, offering his services for Pennsylvania, but, as they had heard some unfavorable rumors about him, he was again refused. Hence he determined to go to Pennsylvania on his own responsibility. He arrived at Baltimore in the winter of 1771-72. (*Minutes*, 329).

As the old congregation at Baltimore was vacant at that time, they asked Wallauer to supply them until the next meeting of Coetus. He consented. At the Coetus of June, 1772, delegates from the Baltimore Church appeared with a call for Wallauer, signed by fifty members. But,

as Coetus had been warned against him by the Fathers in Holland, they declined to receive him (*Minutes*, 329).

On September 7, 1772, Wallauer signed the financial account of the Baltimore congregation. On March 29, 1773, the following statement appears in the Baltimore record:

"March 20, 1773, expended for Pastor Wallauer
 For furniture.....£14.15.0
 For repairing furniture.....£10. 1.9½
 For repairs of school and parsonage as well as church
 yard and other things.....£12.13.5."

In May, 1774, the Baltimore congregation petitioned Coetus again to receive Wallauer as a member of Coetus, but the case was submitted to the Fathers in Holland for a final decision.

Wallauer had left Baltimore before May, 1776; in the Coetal letter of May 2, 1776, his departure is reported.

According to a report which reached Dr. Elias Heiner, a later pastor, Wallauer left the congregation to join the British army.¹

JOHN H. WICKEL

This early Reformed minister (although it is doubtful whether he should be called minister; it would be better to call him preacher) appears for the first time in an advertisement of the *Pennsylvania Staatsbote*, of October 18, 1774:

"*Johannes Wickel*, from Eyershausen, in Nassau-Dillenburg, at present schoolmaster in Vincent tp., Chester county, would like to know where his mother's sister, *Anna Christina Blum*, and her children are living. They came to this country about 10 or 11 years ago, and her Father, Joh. Georg Blum, died at sea. When she sees this, will she send word to the publisher of this paper."²

This advertisement reveals the fact that John Wickel came from Eyershausen, now Eiershausen, in what was then the County of Nassau-Dillenburg, but is now the Province of Westphalia. The village is near Eibelshausen, the home of the Rev. Daniel Wagner.

Then we learn that his aunt entered the country about ten or eleven years earlier. A reference to the *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (I, 685) shows that Johannes Wickel arrived at Philadelphia on October 5, 1763.

¹ Elias Heiner, *Centenary Sermon*, (1850), 19.

² See *Pennsylvania German Folklore Society*, III (1938), 36; "Notices in Pennsylvania Newspapers."

He must have come with his aunt and her family, although the name of Blum is not found among those who qualified at the court house in Philadelphia on that date. But as only adult males were required to sign the oath of allegiance, the omission is not surprising.

Wickel qualified at Philadelphia a second time on September 27, 1773 (*Pioneers*, I, 752). The handwriting in the two instances is identical. Another new fact is that shortly after his second entry, in October, 1774, he was schoolmaster in Vincent Township, no doubt in the parochial school of the Vincent Reformed Church, although his name does not appear in the Vincent Church record in 1774.

In March, 1776, Wickel began preaching in Boehm's Church, Whitpain Township, Montgomery County. His entries in the church record run from March 19, 1776, to August 31, 1777. But he was in charge even after the latter date, as is shown by the Vincent Church record, in which his baptisms extend from March 24, 1776, to June 28, 1778.

At Boehm's Church Wickel drew up a "Declaration regarding the Church Farm," dated April 14, 1778.¹ In it he appeals for contributions towards the payment of the church farm of 64 acres and a parsonage, in which he resided at that time. It is signed "Johannes Wickel, V.D.M." There are twenty-eight other signatures of church members who contributed to that object. He must have left shortly afterwards, because his entries in the Wentz's record come to an end in June 1778.

Dr. Good (*History*, 629) quotes a letter of a Hessian captain, dated January 18, 1778, in which he refers to Wickel and states that he had given up preaching and had turned to highway robbery. But as Wickel was officiating at Vincent to June 1778, little credence can be attached to this unsupported statement.

Earlier historians—Dr. Dubbs (*Historic Manual*, 416) and Dr. Good, (*History*, 628)—have recorded his name as John H. Weikel, which, in view of the documents quoted above, must be given up as incorrect. The name John H. Weikel appeared first in Dr. Harbaugh's *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, II, 400, and was based on a communication of Mr. Detweiler. It reappeared in Mr. Detweiler's sketch of Boehm's Reformed Church, in the *Sesqui-Centennial of Boehm's Reformed Church*, (1890), 68f. It is strange that Mr. Detweiler should have misread the name, because the signature *J. H. Wickel*, appears clearly in the first account of Wentz's Church, p. 78.

¹ The original is now in the archives of the Historical Society of the Reformed Church at Lancaster.

JOHN HENRY GIESE (GIESSE)

1755-1845

John Henry Giese was born at Lichtenau, in the district of Cassel, in Hesse, and was baptized there February 16, 1755. His father was the "cantor" at the Lichtenau Reformed Church. At an early age he was sent to the Latin School of Hersfeld, where he studied for four years. He then spent two years at the University of Marburg, matriculating there on April 11, 1774, as "Henricus Giesse, Lichtnavius, Hassus."¹ One who may have been his brother, John Frederick Giesse of Lichtenau, matriculated at Marburg on October 29, 1778.

In 1776 Giese came to America, remaining in or near New York for four years. He then went to Norfolk, Virginia, and, after a short stay there, came to Frederick, Maryland, in 1782, where he made the acquaintance of the Rev. Frederick Lewis Henop, who from 1770 to 1784 was pastor of the Reformed congregation at Frederick. The latter urged him to give up his plan of returning to Germany and to stay in this country. He pointed out to him the great lack of able ministers and the urgent need of many vacant congregations to be supplied with the preaching of God's Word. As a result of these remonstrances Giesse was persuaded to stay and to preach to some of the vacant congregations, such as Short Hill, Goose Creek,² and South Mountain.

In 1787 Giese applied to the Coetus of Pennsylvania for examination. As his sponsor, Mr. Henop, was not present at the meeting to press his case, Coetus refused to grant his request, but advised him to continue teaching school (*Minutes*, 413).

Giese had been residing in Frederick County, Md., but shortly after applying to the Coetus he moved to Loudon County, Virginia, from which place as a center he supplied neighboring Reformed congregations; namely, German Settlement, Short Hill, and Goose Creek. Occasionally he visited also Winchester, Staunton, Lexington, Pigot (Peaked) Mountain, and Frieden's Church, near Harrisonburg, Virginia. He served this charge for about twelve years, from 1782 to 1794.

About 1794 a number of his members moved to Bedford, Berlin, and

¹ These official statements supersede those of Dr. Harbaugh. Giesse could not have been born in 1757, for he would have entered the university at the incredible age of 17 years. Moreover, a Lichtenau in Saxony does not exist.

² Goose Creek is a small stream in Loudon County, Virginia, near which is the place called "German Settlement." Schlatter mentioned Goose Creek in his diary. See Harbaugh, *Life of Schlatter*, 175.

Friend's Cove, in Bedford County, Pennsylvania. At their special request he visited them and, receiving an urgent call from them, yielded to their earnest plea and moved to this distant charge. It included congregations at Berlin, Salisbury, Samuel's Church, and Bedford. His first baptism at Bedford is dated April 26, 1795. He also preached and organized congregations at Stoystown, Glade Church, Stony Creek, and Neuman's, now Wellersburg. He also made occasional visits to Westmoreland and Fayette counties.

In this extensive field he labored acceptably for thirty-eight years, 1795–1833. In the latter year he resigned his charge, because of bodily infirmities. He died at Berlin on March 24, 1845, aged 88 years, 11 months, and 11 days, as stated in the inscription on his tombstone. But, as the records in Lichtenau, his hometown in Germany show, he was born in 1755, and therefore was more than 90 years of age at the time of his death.

In spite of the fact that he did not enjoy the official recognition of his church, he worked faithfully in the ministry for fifty-one years.

CYRIACUS SPANGENBERG

Spangenberg is usually represented as a Hessian, who came to this country with the Hessian troops in 1776. This traditional account is, however, subject to doubt, for a contemporary German writer, D. von Bülow, in his *Freistaat von N. Amerika in seinem neuesten Zustand* (Erster Theil, Berlin, 1797, p. 214) states that "Spangenberg was formerly an officer in the Prussian artillery." A Hessian would not readily become an officer in the Prussian army.

He came to America before the year 1780, for on May 18, 1780, he wrote a letter from Philadelphia to one of the members of the Classis of Amsterdam, in which he gave a lengthy account of his cousin, the Rev. Samuel Dubbendorff. He states that he was entrusting his letter to Col. von Dörbs, who would deliver the letter in person. It was through him that Spangenberg had learned of the desire of the Classis to receive a report about the condition and circumstances of Mr. Dubendorff. He reports that his cousin was preaching to three congregations in Lykens Valley, 127 miles from Philadelphia, in the wilderness, on the borders of the Indian country. He regrets the long delay of letters from Pennsylvania, due to the blockade of the American coast by British warships. About himself Spangenberg remained discreetly silent.¹

¹ The original of this letter is now in the archives of the Dutch Reformed Church, at New Brunswick, N. J.

He appears again in 1783, when he presented himself before the Coetus of Pennsylvania, on May 14. The minutes state:

"A man by the name of Cyriacus Spangenberg of Reidemeister, a cousin of Dubendorf, presented himself before Coetus, desiring to be admitted to the holy ministry, by examination and ordination; but inasmuch as, not only according to report, but also according to his own acknowledgment, he had already administered holy baptism without ordination, and had made application to Mr. Boos, desiring him to confer ordination upon him, who, however, it seems, was upright enough to refuse to do it, and especially because his conduct, as described by those who know him, is altogether more like that of a soldier and lawyer than a minister, the entire Coetus agreed to refuse this request."

Despite this refusal of Coetus to grant his petition, Spangenberg appeared again before Coetus at Lancaster, May 13, 1784, and he repeated his request. "After deliberation it was resolved to await the answer of the Reverend Fathers." When the Deputies of the Synods answered on January 28, 1785, they refused to give their consent without receiving further information from the Coetus regarding him. They wanted to know whether he had a certificate of membership from the church to which he had belonged; whether he had been a regular candidate of theology; whether he had been examined, and, finally, "for certain reasons, we desire to know whether he has heretofore been in the garrison at Deventer," Holland. The last inquiry seems to imply that they had heard bad rumors about him.

Spangenberg appears once more and for the last time in the minutes of the Coetus of 1785:

"Cyriacus Spangenberg von Reidemeister, who twice before asked for examination and ordination, but whose request was refused on account of his bad character, caused himself to be ordained, on recommendation and intercession of his cousin, Dubendorf, by a careless and bad minister named Philip Jacob Michael. Spangenberg preached to some congregations in Shamokin. He likewise intended to do the same as Van der Sloot. He also had a wife in Germany and intended to marry another wife here. But on the day preceding his intended wedding, a letter of his wife from Europe came to light, and thus prevented him from carrying out his design. Through this act Spangenberg drew upon himself the just hatred and disgust of all sincere souls, who even before thought little or nothing of him."

According to Dr. Harbaugh (*Fathers*, II, 330) Spangenberg had located near Selinsgrove, and "began to preach at that place, at Row's Church, Mahantango, Middle Creek, and other places." The nearest Reformed church to Mahantango Creek, formerly in Mahanoy Town-

ship, Northumberland County, is the Stone Valley Church, whose record shows some entries in 1784 and 1785, which may have been made by Spangenberg.

From the Shamokin region Spangenberg went to Grindstone Hill, Waynesboro, and neighboring churches, in Franklin County. There is an entry in the Waynesboro record, which reads: "On July 9th, 1786, the Rev. Cyriacus Spangenberg began preaching here." Many years ago the writer found the call to Spangenberg, dated July 8, 1786, still in possession of the congregation. He has preserved a copy of it. In it the Evangelical Reformed congregation in Washington Township, Franklin County, engaged Cyriacus Spangenberg, lately pastor in Schemoke, as their pastor and promised him the sum of fifteen pounds as his salary. Other neighboring churches probably made up the rest of his salary. On April 8, 1787, Spangenberg entered a list of thirty communicants in the church record, in a remarkably good script, which proves him a well-educated man. In June, 1789, he was succeeded there by the Rev. Jacob Weimer.

After his departure from Franklin County Spangenberg turned westward into Bedford (now Somerset) County. There he preached to the congregations of Bedford and Berlin. At first, before his true character revealed itself, everything went smoothly for a number of years; then suddenly things came to an unexpected and violent climax in 1794.

The Rev. Benjamin Knepper (1816-1906) tells the story as follows in a letter addressed to the Rev. Dr. Bahner:

"As I was told in my young days, the church council, of which Mr. Glessner was one, met in the stone schoolhouse in Berlin. Then, after they were through (of course I don't know whether there was any dispute or trouble during the meeting), but when they left, when Glessner got to the door, Spangenberg placed his hand on Glessner's shoulder, as if he wanted to say something. He had a knife or dirk and stabbed him, the first hit the button of his coat (at that time they had large brass buttons), then he gave him two more stabs in both sides of his breast, then Glessner ran a short distance and fell, but how long he lived I cannot tell, but it was not long."

Dr. Harbaugh tells a slightly different story. According to his informant the murder took place in church, at a congregational meeting, called to vote on the question whether Spangenberg should be retained or dismissed. Mr. Glessner favored a change of ministers. It was at that moment that Spangenberg sprang up and struck elder Glessner. Neither account seems to be absolutely correct, for we have an official statement by Adam Miller, Esq., the justice of the peace who committed Spangenberg to jail. He made the following record, dated March 20, 1794, in his docket:

"Whereas Cyriacus Spangenberg of Reidemeister, late of Bedford, in said County, Minister, has been arrested by David Eshbach and Matthias Zimmerman of said county, and brought before me and upon his own confessment, He being moved and seduced by the instigation of the Devil, on the hour of two in the afternoon on the same day with force and arms in Berlin, in the house where he, the said Cyriacus Spangenberg did live in the county aforesaid in and upon Jacob Glessner then and there being in the peace of God and of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, feloniously, voluntarily and of his malicious forethought made an assault and that the aforesaid Cyriacus Spangenberg then and there with a certain knife made of Iron and Steele, of the value of eight pence, which he, the said Cyriacus Spangenberg then and there held in his right hand and struck him the said Jacob Glessner on the left side two wounds, one is mortal one other on the right side mortal, on the said Jacob Glessner. And now I command you or each one of you to receive the said Cyriacus Spangenberg into your custody in the said Goal there to remain till he be delivered from your custody by due course of law. Given under my Hand and Seal this 20th day of March 1794.²

Adam Miller, J.P." (Seal)

The docket also states that Jacob Gilder, John Zeigler, David Eshbaugh, Mathis Zimmerman, Jacob Wiant, Frederick Oldfather, and Mary Buce were held in £40 bail, to appear in court as witnesses. It also alleges that Margaret Louise Spangenberg, reputed wife of the minister, was not his wife.

The trial of Spangenberg took place at Bedford on April 27, 1795. He was found guilty of murder in the first degree and sentenced to death. He had some friends, who made a vain effort to secure his pardon, or at least a commutation of his sentence from the Governor, on June 25th The Governor sent the papers that had been filed in the case to the Chief Justice of the State, requesting his opinion. The latter's answer was against pardon or commutation.

As a result, the Governor issued his warrant to Jacob Bennett, High Sheriff of Bedford County, directing that the prisoner be executed on Saturday, October 10, 1795, between the hours of ten o'clock in the morning and two o'clock in the afternoon. On the day and hour specified, the doomed man, his coffin on the same vehicle, was conveyed to the place of execution. There, in the presence of a large number of people, the sentence was duly carried out.

What a terrible fate for a ministerial black sheep! The only redeem-

² Printed in *Pennsylvania German*, X, 554.

ing feature of the sad case is that the Church never recognized him or received him as one of her members. It is one of those unfortunate incidents that could happen in a day when communication was difficult and distant churches were left without proper counsel and guidance.

FREDERICK WILLIAM VON DER SLOOT

1744-1803

Frederick William von der Slood was descended from a ministerial family. His grandfather, the Rev. Frederick Von der Schloth, married at Barby, on the Elbe River in 1695, Maria Judith Braun. His father was the Rev. Frederick Henry Von der Slood, 1703-1751. He was pastor at Aken for nineteen years, and later, from 1743-51, pastor of the St. Nicolai Church at Zerbst, in the principality of Anhalt-Zerbst. His mother was Sophia Wilhelmina, nee von Boller. Their only son, Philip William Frederick, was born at Zerbst, September 27, 1744.¹ Later in life he changed his Christian names to Frederick William. He studied for the ministry and in course of time became pastor at Zornitz, Poetnitz, Dellnau, Scholitz, and Nauendorf, in the province of Brandenburg. Then, from 1769 to 1771, he was "Inspector" of the Joachimsthal Gymnasium (College) at Berlin, and later, in 1775, became conrector of the Latin School at Dessau, from which position he was dismissed because he quarreled with the authorities.² At Berlin he had married Louisa Henrietta, daughter of the Rev. Prof. Schultz, Professor of Philology in the Joachimsthal Gymnasium.

According to Dr. C. Z. Weiser (*Monograph*, 71), Von der Slood came to America in 1782, after having left his wife and son in Germany. He also reports that his first field of labor lay in Allen Township, Northampton County. Of this the writer can find no evidence. In April, 1784, Von der Slood entered the Goshenhoppen Charge. At New Goshenhoppen he entered 21 baptisms between April 25, 1784, and November 21, 1784; at Old Goshenhoppen, 6 baptisms between May 2, 1784, and October 14, 1784; and at Great Swamp, 16 baptisms between April 18, 1784, and May 14, 1786.

The reason for the sudden termination of his labors at New and Old Goshenhoppen is furnished by the Coetus minutes of 1785. They read:

¹ The European antecedents of the Von der Slood family were cleared up by Lewis Vanderslood, in his *History and Genealogy of the Von der Slood Family*, Harrisburg, 1901.

² Facts communicated by Prof. Dr. Eduard Engel of Berlin, in a letter to the writer, dated September 15, 1924.

"As was stated in last year's minutes, Fred. Wm. Van der Slood preached at Old and New Goshenhoppen and Great Swamp. The former two congregations have now locked the churches against him on account of a very disgraceful and unlawful act; but the latter congregation, namely, Great Swamp, still allows him to preach." This was the reason: He had left a wife and child in Germany, but married here a single woman. A short time after his marriage it became known through his own statements that he had another wife, whereupon his father-in-law took his daughter back to his home. Then Van der Slood was locked out by the two Goshenhoppen churches.

This statement is corroborated by the New Goshenhoppen Church record, in which he himself made the following entry:

"June 29, [1784], Rev. Däliker married me, Friedrich Wilhelm Van der Slood, only son of Friedrich Heinrich Von der Slood, late minister in Anhalt-Zerbst, Germany, to Anna Margaretha Riedt, eldest daughter of Jacob Riedt, of Hatfield Township, Philadelphia County."

At Great Swamp Von der Slood ended his ministry in May, 1786. His last baptism there is dated May 14, 1786, and his last funeral April 3, 1786. But it is possible that he was merely a visitor on these dates, for even at the Coetus meeting of April 27-28, 1785, the Rev. Mr. Faber reported Tohickon, Indianfield, and Great Swamp as the congregations he was then serving.

From Goshenhoppen Van der Slood removed to Northampton County, where he ministered to congregations in Allen, Moore, and Lehigh Townships. At Stone Church, Kreidersville, his baptisms run from December, 1787, to June, 1794. At Salem Church, Moore Township, his baptismal entries begin on March 1, 1789, and continue to July, 1803. At Emmanuel Church, Petersville, his activity can be traced from 1797 to 1802.

He died in this charge in 1803 and was succeeded by his son, Frederick William Van der Slood, Jr., who had come to Pennsylvania in 1801, was licensed in 1802, and ordained on June 8, 1803, to be his father's successor.

ANDREW LORETZ, JR.

1762-1812

Andrew Loretz, Jr., was born at Tschritschen, in the canton of the Grisons, and was baptized there April 14, 1762. His father was the Rev.

Andrew Loretz, Sr., who was pastor at Tschirtschen from 1759 to 1766; his mother was Ursula, née Paravicini.¹

An autograph album of Andrew Loretz, Jr., examined and copied by the writer some years ago, gives us a little insight into his life in Europe. On May 6, 1779, he was at Kaufbeuren, in southern Bavaria. There is no evidence that this was the place of his study, as there is no university in that city, but he was perhaps engaged in business there. He stayed in that town till at least June, 1783, when the latest entry was made in his album at Kaufbeuren. In August, 1784, he had returned to Chur, Switzerland, in time to accompany his father to America. When he left Chur he asked for and received a passport from the authorities, of which a photographic copy is in possession of the writer. As it is an interesting document, we present a translation of it. It reads:

"WE, the Burgomaster and Council of the city of Chur, in Graubünden, testify herewith that, through the Grace of God, we enjoy at present in our city of Chur and neighboring places, a good, healthy and pure air, and that no dangerous plague or infectious disease prevails.

"In testimony whereof the bearer of this, Mr. Andrew Loretz, a citizen here and single, who intends to travel to Amsterdam, for purpose of business, has been given this certificate, provided with the Seal of our Chancery, so that he may pass and repass at all places freely and unimpeded.

"Given the 8th of September, 1784.

(Seal) } Certified
 } Chancery of Chur,
 } Switzerland"

Mr. Andrew Loretz, Sr., was commissioned by the Deputies of the Holland Synods as missionary to Pennsylvania on November 17, 1784, together with another Swiss minister, the Rev. Bernard Willy. They landed at Baltimore, where they arrived without funds on December 21, 1784. As they had been sent by the Synods of Holland, the members of the Reformed Church in Baltimore collected money for them and sent them to Pennsylvania. There were five persons in the party. When they reached Philadelphia, Mr. Loretz, Sr., was sent to Tulpehocken, Mr. Willy to Reading, Pennsylvania.

Young Loretz had accompanied his father. This is certain from the fact that he acted as sponsor at the first baptism entered by his father in the Trinity Tulpehocken record. The sponsor is given as "Andrew Loretz, Jr., born at Chur."

¹ See sketch of the father's life in this volume. These data were supplied by the Rev. Dr. Jacob Truog, of Chur.

When Mr. Loretz, Sr., returned to Switzerland in March, 1786, his son did not accompany him, for Mr. John Reily made an entry in the Loretz autograph album at Myerstown, Pennsylvania, on June 12th, 1786.

Shortly afterwards young Loretz turned his face southward. Before the end of the year 1786 he married at Baltimore, Maryland, a widow, named Schaefer, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Lehman.

About the same time, Loretz received a call from some Reformed congregations in North Carolina. This implies that he must have been ordained for the ministry, but when, where, and by whom this ordination is not known. It is barely possible that the Coetus of Pennsylvania ordained him privately, without a public record of it, as they ordained Samuel Weyberg in 1793.

Loretz located in Lincoln County, North Carolina. He built a home within sight of Daniel's Church, about four miles northwest of Lincolnton, on land which he bought on July 3, 1792, from Jacob Shuford. It was a handsome two-story brick structure, which bore on the eastern gable the name and date, "A.D. 1793." From Daniel's Church as a center he ministered regularly to at least four neighboring congregations. He also made numerous missionary tours to Rowan and Guilford counties in Carolina and even to the Lexington district in South Carolina.

He is said to have been a good linguist, able to use French and Latin freely. In the pulpit he was an eloquent preacher, who used the German language with great power and fluency. On the death of George Washington in 1799, he delivered a "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Washington," which was printed in pamphlet form and was highly praised by the press of the day as "brilliant and appropriate and one of the best efforts made on that occasion." Unfortunately no copy can now be found in any of our big libraries.

Tradition speaks of him as a man of prayer. It was his custom, when visiting his families, to have a prayer service with them. Those who heard him on such occasions remembered long afterwards the tenderness and unction of his prayers.

In social contacts he was of a most genial disposition, always ready with a pleasantry. Hence he was greatly beloved in all his churches and his visits were looked forward to with eager anticipation.

As his field covered in length more than two hundred miles, when roads were poor and traveling dangerous and difficult, he wore himself out by his long trips on horseback. Sometimes he rode seventy-five miles to meet an appointment. He knew his Bible well, and if there was no Bible at hand for his services he was never at a loss to make apt quotations from this cherished book. He died a comparatively young man of fifty years on Sunday evening March 31, 1812, after he had spent the morning preach-

ing in one of his churches. He was survived by his widow and seven children, among whom were three sons. One of them later represented his district in the State Legislature. As no Reformed minister was available west of the Catawba River, the Rev. Paul Henckel, his Lutheran colleague, preached the funeral sermon. He was buried in the graveyard attached to Daniel's Church.

By his abundant labors he made for himself an important place in the history of the Reformed Church in North Carolina.²

GEORGE WILLIAM SCHNEIDER

Mr. Schneider appeared before the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church at New York, in May, 1785, as a student of theology, asking for an examination. The minutes of that year state (p. 136): "Mr. George Wilhelm Snyder,³ having submitted himself to the appointed examination, and meeting with difficulties, desired that his examination be further deferred." This request was granted. In 1786 inquiry was made by Synod regarding him, the Classis of Albany being directed "further to inquire into the subject" (*ibid.*, p. 141). In 1787 the Classis reported that it had in vain tried to ascertain from the consistory of Schoharie, whether and by what authority Mr. Snyder was preaching to the congregations under their charge (*ibid.*, p. 151).

According to Dr. Corwin, (*Manual*, 795) Schneider was at Schoharie from 1785 to 1788. In 1788 it was reported that the Coetus of Pennsylvania had ordained him, but there is nothing in the minutes of the Coetus to support that claim. In June, 1789, "N. Schneider, Albany," was present as a visitor (*Minutes*, 427), but he was not a member of the Coetus.

Meanwhile Mr. Schneider had turned up at Frederick, Maryland, where he pretended that he was collecting money to build a church in New York State. In reality he headed a faction of the Frederick Church, which made strenuous efforts to oust the Rev. John William Runkel from his pastorate. When these efforts failed, Schneider left Frederick for Leesburg, Loudon County, Virginia, where he became principal of an academy. Later he held a similar position at Harper's Ferry, preaching

² See an early sketch of his life by his grandson in the *Reformed Church Messenger*, of 1869; the sketch prepared by D. Y. Heisler, in the *Fathers*, III, 15-20; and the brief biography in the *Historic Sketch of the Reformed Church in North Carolina*, (1908), 255-262.

³ According to Dr. Harbaugh (*Fathers*, III, 463), his Christian name was Jacob. Whether this is an error, or whether he intentionally changed his name, we cannot determine.

meanwhile at Lovettsville and neighboring places. After some years he returned to Leesburg, preaching as an independent Reformed minister. He is said to have been an excellent teacher of languages and sciences, and also a good public speaker. He is reported to have been "polite in his manners and agreeable in conversation." (*Fathers*, III, 464).

Schneider died at Leesburg in 1826. He was buried in the graveyard attached to the Reformed church at Lovettsville. Though not a member of the Reformed Coetus, he is mentioned because he was pastor of numerous Reformed congregations.

JOHN MICHAEL KERN

1730-1788

Nothing was known of the European background of John Michael Kern until 1924, when, through the investigations of Prof. Dr. L. Lemme, of Heidelberg University, it was found that he had matriculated at Heidelberg University on November 21, 1753, as coming from Mannheim, in the Palatinate. Further investigation at Mannheim revealed that he had been born there August 31, 1730, and was baptized September 3, 1730. He was the son of John Leonard Kern, tailor, and his wife Anna Eva.¹ He probably studied three years at Heidelberg, 1753-1756. What became of him afterwards we do not know. He was no doubt ordained, for when he turns up next, in 1763 at New York, he was a fully ordained minister, who served the German Reformed Church at New York City from 1763 to 1771.²

He was then called to Montgomery, N. Y., where he ministered from 1771 to 1778. Being an ardent loyalist, he was compelled to leave New York State and he betook himself for safety to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he resided from 1778 to 1787.³ In 1787 he is reported to have been pastor of the German church at Camp and Rhinebeck, New York. In the following year he came to Pennsylvania, where he accepted a call to the Tohickon Charge.

There were a number of Kern families in the Tohickon Reformed congregation. Hence it is possible that he followed an invitation of relatives to settle with them. As early as 1750 Christian Kern and his wife Anna Mary were members at Tohickon. In 1769 we find Adam Kern and

¹ See Toepke, *Matrikel*, IV, 162.

² For Kern's ministry in New York see Dr. Corwin's *Manual*, 549.

³ So Dr. Dubbs in his *Historic Manual*, 400.

his wife Catharine, and in 1789 Philip Kern and his wife Catharine, in the membership of the congregation.

The ministry of Kern in his new field of labor was brief. At Tohickon he baptized the first child on May 16, 1787, and the last on February 24, 1788. At Indian Creek he baptized children from December 7, 1787, to March 13, 1788. He died suddenly and unexpectedly in Rockhill Township March 22, 1788, and was buried in the graveyard of the Indian Creek Church, alongside of his wife, Catharine Barbara, who died March 27, 1789. The inscription on his tombstone reads:

In Memory of
REV. JOHN MICHAEL KERN.
Born in Germany 1736,⁴
Died March 22, 1788.

As indicated by his beautiful script, Kern was a well-educated man. It was a great loss to the Church to have him pass away so early, in his 58th year.

JOHN CONRAD AMMANN

According to the Schwartzwald Record, kept by the Rev. John William Boos, John Conrad Ammann was born September 6, 1743, but where we are not told.

The first trace of Mr. Ammann as a Reformed preacher is found in the Hain's, or Cacusi, record, in Berks County, where on September 20, 1789, he began a series of baptismal entries, which run to March 19, 1792. On December 22, 1790, he acted as sponsor at the baptism of John, son of Michael Meyer and his wife Elizabeth, signing himself "Joh. Conr. Ammann, pastor here." This signature enables us to identify his handwriting. On January 15, 1791, he signed the annual accounting of the collection money. From 1790 to 1791 we find him as pastor of the Swamp Church, in Lancaster County. Another congregation served by Mr. Amman was Allegheny, in Brecknock Township, Berks County. There he entered eighty-three baptisms from August 15, 1790 to April 2, 1797. A fourth congregation to which Mr. Ammann ministered was Coventry, or Brownback's, in Coventry Township, Chester County. There are nine baptisms, from April to October, 1792, in his handwriting, and he signed a financial account on October 7, 1793. It is possible that he

⁴ This date must be due to a slip by the stone cutter. The birth and baptismal entry at Mannheim definitely deserves the preference. It is not the only mistake found on tombstones.

served this congregation to 1797. There is no evidence of any other pastor being there during those years.

Mr. Ammann died July 3, 1797, being buried on July 5th, aged 53 years, 10 months, less 3 days. The Rev. Wm. J. Boos, of Reading, preached his funeral sermon, from Ps. 119:175. His wife's name was Theresia.

This is all the information which has been recovered thus far about this early Reformed minister, whose name has not appeared in any earlier list of Reformed pastors.

JOHN CHRISTIAN WILMS

John Christian Wilms is a Reformed minister whom earlier historians have hardly mentioned. Very little is known about him. According to his tombstone, in the old Cocalico Cemetery near Ephrata, he was born on April 3, 1738, in Germany, but his birth-place is not known. Nor do we know anything about his youth, education, or entrance into the ministry. The first trace we have of him is in a list of arrivals at the port of Philadelphia, on the ship "Union," Andrew Bryson, master, from Rotterdam, Holland.

We then lose sight of him till 1791, when his name appears in the Cocalico Church record, Lancaster County. On November 22, 1791, he entered his first baptism in that record. At the same time he was serving also the Swamp church, near Blainsport, in West Cocalico Township, where he baptized a child on September 23, 1792. A little later, on March 24, 1793, he appears in the Reyer's Church record. At Seltenreich he is said to have preached as early as 1789.

At the meeting of Synod held at Lancaster April 23, 1793, "it was resolved in reference to the congregation at Cocalico, that Mr. Wilms be requested to appear at the next Synodical meeting and submit to an examination." In the following year his case came up again, at the Synod held in Reading on May 18, 1794. During the second session "the case of Mr. Wilms, to whom a call was made out by the Cocalico and Muddy Creek congregations, and in behalf of whom it was promised at the last annual meeting, that he should report for examination at this meeting, inasmuch as it was taken up yesterday, was again taken up today. As, however, he had administered the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, contrary to the established order of the church, "he was no longer regarded as a minister of the Reformed Church, and the congregations were censured for receiving him."

In spite of this censure of Synod, Mr. Wilms remained in this field

to the end of his life. His record ends on November 8, 1801. He died March 8, 1802 and was buried in the old Cocalico graveyard, by the side of his wife and daughter.

Shortly afterwards the congregations composing the charge came again under the jurisdiction of the Reformed Synod and have remained in faithful communication with the Church ever since that time.

JOHN ERNST

1744-1804

It is somewhat doubtful whether John Ernst should be included in the number of Reformed ministers. But since Dr. Harbaugh (*Fathers*, III, 25-27) did so, we may follow his example. This much is certain, that he did serve a number of Reformed congregations, which are still such to this day.

According to his tombstone inscription he was born February 22, 1744, but where has not been discovered. He first appears as a member of a conference of "United Brethren," which met in the parsonage of Mr. Otterbein at Baltimore in 1789.¹ He was also present at a second conference, held at John Spangler's house, eight miles from York, in 1791.² This shows his close association with Mr. Otterbein and his movement, although the latter was at that time a recognized member of the Reformed Coetus; his name is carried on the roll of Reformed ministers in the Coetus minutes and he attended its meetings in 1788 and 1791.

According to Professor Drury (p. 156) Ernst began preaching prior to 1789, living at that time in Conestoga Township, Lancaster County. When and by whom he was ordained remains uncertain. But the probability is that it was by Otterbein and his associates. Ernst never appears in any official document of the Reformed Church.

About the year 1790 Ernst moved to York County, where he preached to several Reformed congregations. He seems to have made East Berlin, in Adams County, and the neighboring Bermudian his headquarters. In the church record of the latter church a new handwriting appears on April 10, 1791. It runs to October 1801. During this period there are about forty baptismal entries, which may have been made by him. But as we have no letters or other documents from his pen, it is impossible to identify his handwriting. At East Berlin he is reported as having

¹ See A. W. Drury, *History of the Church of the United Brethren*, rev. ed., 1931, 155.

² *Ibid.*, 159.

been the first pastor.³ Other churches he is said to have supplied were Pigeon Hill and Holtzschwam, both in York County. To the former place Otterbein is said to have come regularly once a year to administer the Lord's Supper. At the latter place the church was locked against him, presumably because he was not in connection with the Reformed Synod.

Bishop Christian Newcomer reports Mr. Ernst as having preached the opening sermon at a quarterly meeting of the "Brethren," near Hagerstown, Maryland, on September 1, 1798.⁴ On July 1, 1803, Newcomer visited "the Rev. Mr. Ernst in Berlin." (*ibid.* p. 73). It may be noted that he is no longer "Bro. Ernst," but the more formal "Rev. Mr. Ernst." Nor did Newcomer stay over night with him. Whether this implies a cooling or severing of more intimate relations is impossible to say.

The Rev. E. H. Hoffheins, one of the later successors of Ernst at East Berlin, reports him as "having been an earnest, warm-hearted, and faithful minister of the Gospel and very much concerned for the salvation of souls."

Mr. Ernst died at East Berlin on August 30, 1804. There seems to have been "a time of great sickness," when many people succumbed to an epidemic. Many tombs in the cemetery of the Berlin church bear the date 1804. Mr. Ernst was buried near the church at Berlin, where three plain tombstones mark the burial places of the pastor, his wife, and daughter.

The inscription on his tombstone, translated into English, reads:


"Here rests the body of
JOHANNES ERNST
b. February 22nd, 1744;
d. August 30th, 1804
Aged 60 yrs. 6 mos. 8 days."

³ E. M. Sando, *History of the Gettysburg Classis*, (1941), 96. Harbaugh, *Fathers*, III, 25.

⁴ *Christian Newcomer, His Life, Journal and Achievements*, 31.

BRIEF MEMORIALS

BAUER

N Saur's newspaper *Pennsylvanische Berichte* we read the following notice, under date of November, 16, 1753:

"Reports from Petepsco, Maryland, are very elaborate. In brief they are to the effect that the Reformed congregation there have accepted the Rev. Mr. Bauer as their minister, and, as they have no fault to find with his sermons, they have elected him and given him a new black gown and have hung around the neck a snow-white clerical band. The English have willingly permitted him to preach in their church until one can be built for the Germans. The organ is played for them free of charge."

As no other source mentions a Reformed minister by that name, and as the Lutheran church record of Zion's Lutheran Church at Baltimore shows that the first Lutheran pastor at Baltimore was the Rev. John George Bager (a name which could easily be confused with Bauer), it is natural to suppose that the news-reporter got matters somewhat mixed and was poking fun at the proceedings. Mr. Bager resided at Conewago, Pennsylvania, whence he visited Baltimore six times yearly, from about 1754 to 1757. The first Reformed minister referred to in that record was the Rev. Jacob Lischy, of York, Pennsylvania, who acted as an occasional supply from 1756 to 1759.

BECHTOLD

According to a list of pastors entered in the Reformed Cocalico record by the Rev. J. G. Wittner, about 1766, the following were the first Reformed pastors at Cocalico: "Boehm, Bechtold, Hooch, Tempelmann, Wieser, and Rieger." As Bechtold is said to have followed Mr. Boehm and preceded Mr. Hooch, who was pastor at Lancaster from 1736 to 1738, we shall have to place Bechtold rather early, somewhere between 1732 and 1735. He is not mentioned in any other document.

JOHN BLUM

John Blum arrived at Philadelphia on the ship "Albany," and took the oath of allegiance on September 4, 1728. He was granted a warrant for one hundred acres of land in Lebanon Township on December 17, 1747. Later there was conveyed to "John Blum, organist," a house and lot on Middle Street, Lebanon, on September 10, 1758.

In his report of March 1740, John Philip Boehm refers to John Blum and his activity at Quitpahilla, near Annville, Pa., as follows:

"Concerning the congregation Quitebehele [Quitpahilla], we considered the case, and since this congregation is still very weak and only one man, by the name of John Blum (a very able man for a reader), lives about eight miles from Dolpihacken, but all the others live nearer to that place, we found it advisable to wait until in time more people live there, and till then save the trouble and expense of a minister. They, therefore, joined the congregation at Dolpihacken the more readily, because Dolpihacken will have to be served at two places, on account of its wide extent and rapid growth. One of the places will be nearer to them to go to church to, and may be counted instead of Quitebehelen, because it extends in that direction and is already in use."¹

At the Pennsylvania Synod held at Bethlehem January 25, 1747, "John Blum, Reformed pastor in Quittopehill," was present.

Rev. Christian Henry Rauch visited him on January 27, 1747, having started, as he writes, "from Ludwig Born's and having crossed the Swatara Creek, whose water was fairly high, I arrived at Peter Kucher's and then I visited 'the old Mr. Blum'."

Leonard Schnell, a Moravian missionary, states in his diary, under date January 26, 1746: "Today I went over the Quittopeshill and appointed a sermon at Peter Kucher's. I visited N. Blum, a dear old grey man, who is preacher there."²

John Blum made a will on January 25, 1759. It was probated November 13, 1759. Hence he died about November 1759.

¹ *Life of Boehm*, 296.

² Dalco, *Hist. Acct. of P. E. Church in S. C.*, 185.

JOSEPH BUGNION

Joseph Bugnion, of the Canton of Lausanne, son of Pierre Bugnion, pastor at Chenit, Yverdon, and Baulmes, and of his wife Marie Descombes, was born at Chenit and was baptized there June 10, 1694. In 1719 he married Susanne Elisabeth Perrier, of Yverdon, daughter of Jean Rodolphe Perrier and Esther Correvon. They had five children, a son and four daughters.³

Joseph Bugnion became first regent of the Chateau d'Oex in Vaud, about 1720, where his eldest son, Jean Pierre David, was baptized April 27, 1721. He emigrated with his family to South Carolina in 1732. While in London he was ordained by Dr. Clagett, Bishop of St. David's, as deacon on July 23rd, and as priest July 25, 1732. He settled at Purysburg, South Carolina, where he was naturalized on February 23, 1733. In November and December, 1732, a colony of 152 Swiss settlers had arrived under the leadership of John Peter Pury. A second colony, consisting of 200 settlers, arrived somewhat later. They settled on the north-east bank of the Savannah River and named the settlement Purysburg, after its promoter. Mr. Bugnion continued in this parish till the end of 1734, when he removed to St. James, on the Santee River. He was succeeded by the Rev. Henri Chiffelle, in 1734.

HENRI FRANCOIS CHIFFELE

Chiffelle was born at Neuville (Neuenstadt) in the canton of Berne, Switzerland, but the year of his birth is not known. He was ordained in Switzerland, and from 1727 to 1734 was pastor at Renan, in the canton of Berne.

He emigrated to South Carolina in 1734, with the second Swiss colony under John Peter Pury, which reached Purysburg in December 1734. On his way Chiffelle stopped in London, where he was episcopally ordained by Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London, as deacon on July 14, and as priest on July 21, 1734.

On December 7, 1734, (o.s.) the Lutheran minister at Ebenezer, Georgia, reported: "Mr. Pury has brought along a French minister for the Swiss settlers, who will also try to speak German, as much as possible."

³ Communicated by Mr. Raymond, archivist at Lausanne, Switzerland.

On his arrival in South Carolina Chiffele became the successor of Joseph Bugnion, pastor of the French Reformed church at Purysburg. In course of time it was absorbed into St. Peter's Episcopal parish, which was established by an act of the legislature on February 17, 1747.

On February 4, 1738, the Lutheran minister at Ebenezer "received a letter from Purysburg, asking him to come to the settlement on the next day in order to officiate at the marriage of the French minister, Mr. Chiffele." But he left it to his colleague to officiate on that occasion.

On January 21, 1744, the Moravian minister, Leonard Schnell, reported in his diary a visit to Mr. Chiffele, at Purysburg:

"On the 21st I traveled by water to Purysburg. Stayed over night with Mr. Eberhard. On the following day I visited the Reformed minister there, Mr. Chiffele." This entry is important because it shows that in spite of his Episcopal ordination, Chiffele was still known as a Reformed minister. He was unable to master the German language; however, he occasionally read a German sermon to his German listeners.

Mr. Chiffele continued in St. Peter's parish at Purysburg until his death in 1758. He was succeeded by the Rev. Abraham Immer.

JOHN JACOB EYERMAN

This independent Reformed minister has only lately made his appearance in Reformed Church history.¹ He came to this country in 1795.² He was pastor at Springfield, Bucks County, from December 1796 to December 1797. On April 16, 1797, he confirmed a class of thirty-six, under whose names in the record he wrote: "These 36 young people were confirmed by me, Jacob Eyerman, pastor."

Eyerman became involved in the Fries Whiskey Rebellion and was sentenced to one year in prison and to pay a fine of fifty dollars, but was later pardoned with others.³

In 1799 he appears as pastor of the Towamensing Church, near Palmerston, Carbon County. He wrote the title page of the earliest church record there and entered the first baptism on May 4, 1799.

In 1801 he was still active in Berks County. On May 18, 1801, he married a couple in Windsor Township, Berks County, a marriage which is recorded in the Schwartzwald record.

¹ Dubbs, *Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, 224.

² See *Verhör von John Fries*, [1839], 287.

³ See *Verhör*, 292; and the "Fries Rebellion," in *Penn Germania*, I, (1912), 703-710.

ULRICH HEININGER

Mr. Heininger is reported as a Reformed minister of the Landisburg Charge, in Perry County, Pennsylvania. When the Rev. M. H. Kroh wrote his *Brief Historical Sketch of the Landisburg Charge*, [1887], there were still in existence a number of baptismal certificates bearing his name, and stating explicitly that he was the Reformed minister of the charge, 1789-1802. Nothing more is known about him.

Attention may, however, be drawn to an entry in the Frederick, Maryland, record, which shows that Ulrich Heininger and his wife Susanna brought a daughter to baptism on October 8, 1764. In view of the fact that the name Ulrich Heininger is rare, there is a bare possibility that there is some connection between these two men. This is a nut for future historians to crack.

ABRAHAM IMMER

Immer was born in Switzerland, he came to South Carolina in 1760, succeeding Henry Chiffelle as pastor of St. Peter's parish, at Purysburg. He ministered to this church till his death in 1766.¹

———— LOHRSPACH

A list of pastors in the Lower Saucon record mentions as one of the early pastors, following Wirtz and preceding John Egidius Hecker, a man named Lohrspach. It is stated that he was "addicted to drink and became a soldier." He preached at Saucon, probably between 1754 and 1756, and then took part in the French-Indian war.

¹ Dalco, *Historical Account of the P. E. Church in S. C.*, 385f.

PETER MUELLER (MILLER)

He was at first schoolmaster at the Ebenezer Church, New Tripoli, Lynn Township, and then became successor to Philip Jacob Michael at Ebenezer and Jacob's Church, Lynn Township, somewhere between 1760 and 1770. Later he was pastor at Allemaengel, Ziegel Church, and Heidelberg, from about 1770 to 1778. He died at New Tripoli and was buried in the graveyard attached to Ebenezer Church.²

JOHN ROTH

John Roth was originally a carpenter by trade. He began preaching at the Heidelberg Church, Lehigh County, before 1770, also at Jacob's Church, Lynn Township, before 1774; and at Ebenezer Church, after Mr. Hertzel.³ He applied to the Coetus of Pennsylvania for admission in 1785 and 1787, but was refused, being directed to his carpenter's bench.⁴ He was buried at Jacob's Church.

JOHN HERMAN VAN BASTEN

Van Basten matriculated at Duisburg University on November 18, 1731, as "Grollensis." This implies that he was born at Grolle, in Holland, a place which it has been impossible to identify.

He came to Pennsylvania in company with Peter Henry Dorsius, arriving at Philadelphia September 26, 1737, on the ship "St. Andrew Galley," John Stedman, master. Mr. Boehm, in his letter of March 10, 1738, writes of him as "traveling about in the country here and there, pretending to have been sent here by the Synods."

The minutes of the Synod of South Holland held at Ysselstein, July 5-15, 1740, report a letter of Mr. Dorsius, written probably early in the year 1740, in which he informs the Synod that Van Basten had left Pennsylvania two years before [in 1738], and that he had preached across

² Helffrich, *Geschichte verschiedener Gemeinden*, 9, 37, 45, 52.

³ Helffrich, *Ibid.*, 37, 49, 52.

⁴ Coetus, *Minutes*, 398, 413.

the river [Delaware] at Amwell, New Jersey, and also on Long Island, yet without administering the sacraments, but that his conduct at both places had been objectionable. "At present [1740] he is staying at Fishkill, New York, where he has been allowed to preach on his promise to abstain from strong drink." (*Eccl. Records of N. Y.*, IV, 2741). A little later he preached at Jamaica, Oyster Bay, Success, and Newton, N. Y. (*Corwin, Manual*, 807). After that he disappeared.

WIESER

His name appears in the list of the Cocalico pastors, placed after Tempelman and before Rieger. It is not certain that this is his correct chronological place. He may perhaps be placed after 1740. There is, however, a vague suspicion that George Michael Weiss should have been named in his place, because we know that Weiss preached at Cocalico, taking the place of Mr. Boehm for a short while. Mr. Wittner, who entered these names about 1766, knew about him only by hearsay.

PHILIP CHARLES VAN GEMUENDEN

Van Gemuenden was the first settled German Reformed minister in the Valley of Virginia. He came in the fall of 1762. He bought a farm on Fort Run, in the vicinity of the present Timberville, in Rockingham County, Virginia.

He served as pastor of the Peaked Mt. Church, from February, 1762, to December, 1763.¹ He was pastor at Rader's Church and of the Reformed congregation at McGaheysville, Virginia.

He died about March 1765. His will was probated at Staunton, Virginia, on March 19, 1765.²

¹ The church record of the Peaked Mt. Reformed Church, 1762-1802, was published by the writer in the *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XIII-XIV (1905-1906).

² See the article of Charles E. Kemper, "The Settlement of the Valley," in the *Virginia Magazine*, XXX, 178.

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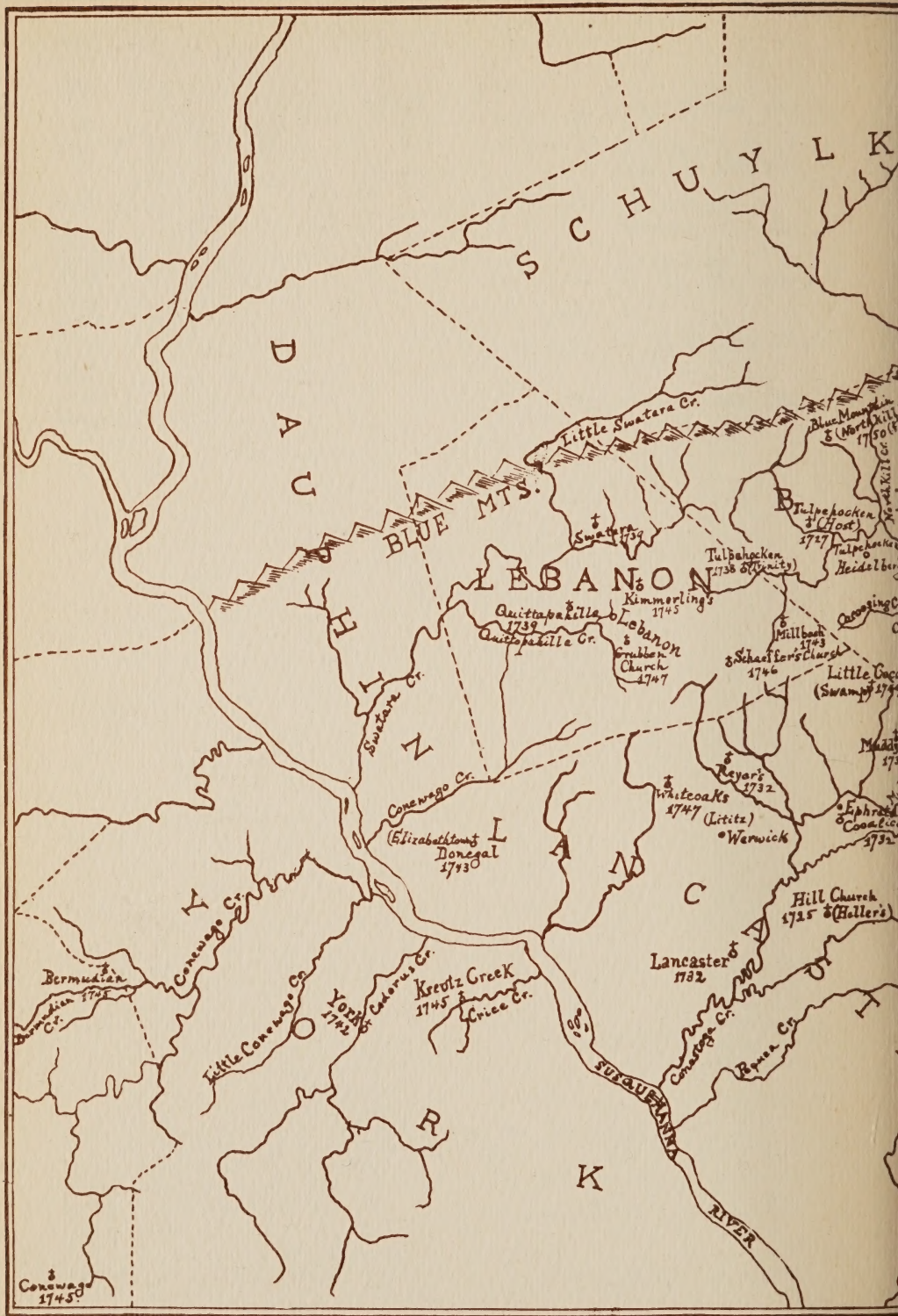
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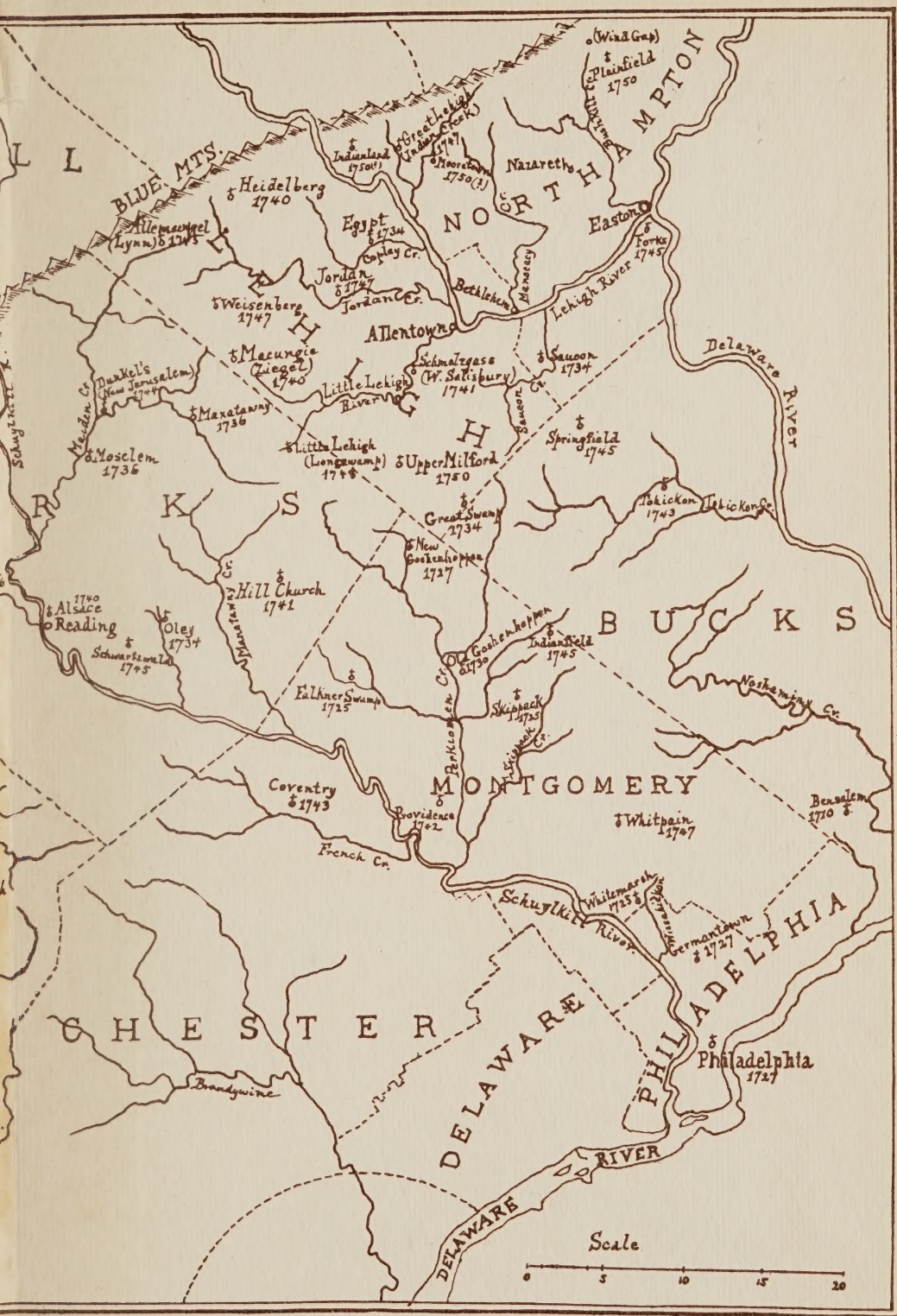
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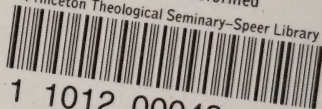


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